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THE WOMAN VOTER

ORGAN OF THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY

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Suffrage in New York Politics

Three Doctors on Votes for Women

Dr. S. ADOLPHUS KNOPF
Dr. MAUDE GLASGOW
Dr. GEORGE WRIGHT

I Would Not Wed A Suffragette

JAMES W. BABCOCK

A Story on Affinities

EUGENIA RABBAS

Why I Believe in Woman Suffrage

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THE CAMPAIGN BEGINS

It is often said that women only view the struggle for the suffrage as a game and that they will lose interest in the vote as soon as men give it to them. Nothing could be farther from the truth. We woman all have political ideals and these are developing from day to day. The men have and hold the tool with which we must work. We cannot fashion another. That is why we pursue them. We are glad so many are already caught.

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THE PRESENT POLITICAL CAMPAIGN

The Woman Suffrage Party has been proving in the last few days that "deeds speak louder than words." Outsiders have been disposed to question the usefulness of the Party from time to time and unfortunately the Party cannot always defend itself with detailed explanations. For example, the week has been full of quiet victories which cannot, however, be given to the press at present. It would have created a bigger sensation in New York if, with blare of trumpets, we could have announced a declaration of war on certain antagonistic Assemblymen. Instead, however, of this public notoriety, the Party, through its effective organization, has been securing daily written pledges from candidates of both parties that they will support the suffrage bill if elected.

Heretofore we have trusted to verbal assurances. This Autumn every promise is a written one and woe betide the man who betrays the trust in 1912. Let us make perfectly clear then the triumph and splendid political work of the Party this Autumn. One point must be remembered at all times, namely, that it usually takes a detective to find the real political boss, whereas the noisy reformer is very much in evidence.

Beginning with the night of the regular political conventions, our women were admitted to nearly all of those assemblies in Greater New York, and allowed to present the following appeal:

To the Assembly District Nominating Conventions of Greater New York:

The Woman Suffrage Party, organized in the sixty-three Assembly Districts of this city and numbering more than 40,000 members, hereby appeals to you to nominate for the State Assembly a man who is favorable to the submission to popular vote of a constitutional amendment enfranchising women. We do not ask that your candidate be necessarily an advocate of woman suffrage, but we do ask that he shall be fair-minded enough to stand for a referendum on the question.

To withhold such submission, as the Legislature has repeatedly done, is to arbitrarily usurp authority which clearly belongs to the electorate. Can not the voters of the State be trusted to express themselves on this measure?

WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY.

As soon as candidates were chosen at these conventions, Party leaders and their helpers have bombarded these nominees with this pledge:

1. I hereby pledge that if I am on the Judiciary Committee of the Assembly in New York State, I will do all in my power to have the bill reported out of committee and will so vote.
2. That I will vote on the floor of the Assembly for submitting the amendment to the people of New York State.
3. That I will honestly endeavor to be present when such vote is taken.

They didn't want to sign. If they had, the Party would have had no way to test its strength and efficiency. A single story will illustrate the way in which signatures were obtained.

One of our leaders had made an appointment with a leading "anti" candidate. Instead of keeping the appointment, the gentleman was four hours late, confident of escaping the quiet little woman by that time. What was his surprise, therefore, to be greeted by her questioning eyes when he entered his office! His consternation gave way, however, very soon to a bland smile and the leader could get no satisfaction with regard to his attitude on suffrage. She came to headquarters, but was urged to go after him again and secure his written pledge, and deliver to him the ultimatum in case of refusal.

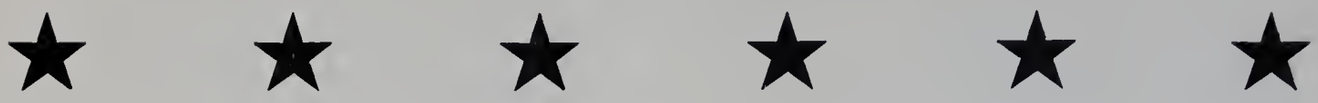
She went to his home the next morning early, walking up and down until he came forth. Then she approached quietly and told the candidate that there could be no more delay or evasion. He had been picked out, she assured him, for defeat by the Party unless he signed. At this, the gentleman murmured: "Let me see that card." On looking it over, he replied: "Well, I guess there is nothing in that I wouldn't sign anyway," and signed.

We are not yet ready to give these signatures to the press, but we shall soon. In the meantime we want our readers to know that the Party idea is "making good" and the district organ is the one thing that speaks with an effective voice in the halls at Albany.

With these pledges secured we shall see that they are kept and victory must be ours in 1913.

At the time of going to press, two candidates are in hiding from us. We shall find them however, and that soon, and if they do not sign, we may decide to fight them. Word will be sent out to all Party members in that case and we hope every enrolled woman will rally to the campaign work under those circumstances.

CALIFORNIA



The long and trying fight for the suffrage in California ended on Tuesday, October 10, in a glorious victory for the cause. The official figures are not yet available but it is certain that we have won by a substantial margin.

The reports in the papers on the morning after the voting declared that the suffrage amendment had been lost by a large majority. The wish was father to the thought, for the politicians and the conservative editors everywhere were devoutly praying for the defeat of the women, and they clutched at the first straws—the returns from the large cities, particularly San Francisco. Slowly and reluctantly the newspapers of the East were forced to concede that the tide was running in favor of equal suffrage and finally, when the last hope was gone, those who print the news that is fit to print, lay down and wailed that the women had won.

It is fortunate for our cause in California that the first report showed victory for the antis, for had the professional politicians of the tenderloin districts of San Francisco known how the country districts were going they might well have falsified the returns from the metropolis so as to win by foul means.

It was the scattered vote in the smaller towns and rural districts that carried the day. This must be a source of great gratification for the courageous women and men who journeyed from place to place at great cost of time and strength to reach a handful of voters. This shows that more is to be expected by steady and persistent campaigning in the smaller places than in spectacular fireworks in the crowded portions of the cities. As in modern warfare organized individual fighting has taken the place of mass rushes, so in politics it is the persistent organized effort to reach individuals that counts in rolling up the grand total for the cause.

An analysis of the returns in California shows that the vote was heaviest against the women in the congested urban areas where are centered all the vicious and criminal elements that make for the destruction of the home to-day. The antis of California, including the nice respectable women and some of the university presidents, had the satisfaction of seeing their crusade for the defense of the "home" warmly supported by dive-keepers, white-slavers, and the rest of the criminal elements of California. This does not mean, of course, that all opponents of the cause fall into that category, but it does mean that the antis everywhere ought to know that in their fight to protect "pure womanhood and the home" they have the best wishes, the money, and the ardent support of the vicious elements generally.

We in New York rejoice that we were able to help California by sending money, and what is infinitely more important, able workers to help in winning the glorious victory.

The December issue of THE WOMAN VOTER will contain accounts of the California campaign by our New York women who went out to help. Mrs. A. C. Fisk, Mrs. Helen Hoy-Greeley and Miss Jeannette Rankin will soon return to give us the inside history of the struggle and aid us with suggestions for our own work

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Word has been received from Los Angeles and other places in California that THE WOMAN VOTER made good converts. If it can do that so far afield, what can it not do here! Will you help it along?

To many suffragists the winning of California simply means the addition of another star to our flag, but in the sphere of politics all stars are not of the same magnitude. In elections the importance of the State depends upon the number of electoral votes which it casts for President of the United States; California is equal to the combined political weight of Utah, Idaho, and Wyoming, or to the combined weight of Washington and Colorado. California is equal to both Connecticut and Delaware in the number of electoral votes cast for President. This is not all. California is not an absolutely "sure" Republican or Democratic State, although it has been in the Republican column since 1892, when it cast eight votes for Cleveland and one for McKinley. Neither is Colorado a "safe" State, for its vote went to Bryan in 1896 and 1900 and to the Republican candidates in 1904 and 1908. This means that the vote of women counts in six States, with a total of twenty-nine electoral votes. Even the politicians who despise us or "wobble" will now have to walk circumspectly. President Taft, whose ardor for our cause had died down to a puny flame found his enthusiasm rising when he

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I WOULD NOT WED A SUFFRAGETTE

By James W. Babcock.

I would not wed a suffragette,
  No, no; Not I! Not I!
Perhaps you'll wonder some at this,
  You'd know the reason why.

Well, wimmen shouldn't vote, say I;
  They don't know what to do;
They'd put an X on their ballot,
  Then write a letter, too.

They must be ed-u-ca-ted first,
  And this they have not had;
While as for us, we know a pile,
  I vote just like my dad.

He voted same as his'n, too,
  Or so I've hearn him say—
It took me quite a while to reach
  The place I stand to-day.

I've voted for just what I've got,
  No home; no friends; no job;
It's bad enough, and I don't want
  No feemales raisin' hob.

I toil each day—that's if I can
  Find some small job to do;
Where would I be, had I a wife,
  And she must hunt work, too.

If all the wimmen voted now,
  This earth'd go to rack,
There'd be no more pros-per-i-tee,
  Our panics would come back.

No, I'd not wed a suffragette,
  The finest of the race;
There's now too much com-pe-ti-tion
  For jobs in this here place.

And so, you see, I'm single yet;
  No shoes, no shirt, no coat;
But I don't want no sufferin' girl
  To show ME how to vote.

AN APPEAL TO A MASCULINE MIND

The following story was told long ago by Senator Daniel W. Vorhees, of Indiana, one of the most famous old-fashioned orators of his time, who was sure to draw to his political meetings the farmers from a radius of twenty miles roundabout. In a particularly hot election contest he was campaigning through central and southern Indiana and part of his route lay through Brown County—a county of clay hills, scrub brush, and bare-footed farmers that boasted that it had no railways and few schools. At one of his meetings in this uninviting region the Senator noticed a striking man in the audience; his features were finely cut and his high forehead seemed to indicate a mind of singular thoughtfulness—a fine masculine mind, logical, reasoning, and immovable before the charlatan tricks of the orator—a mind such as no woman is supposed to possess. In the course of his speech Senator Vorhees noted that he was not engaging the attention of his high-browed auditor whose eyes wandered around the house or were cast down upon the floor as if in deep thought; and accordingly he determined to make a special effort to hit upon some theme that would strike a responsive chord. Knowing the perennial interest in the tariff, he turned speedily to that subject, and with the copious language for which he was justly celebrated, he damned this plutocratic outrage upon the poor, downtrodden consumers; but at his most impassioned period a yawn from the strange auditor was a signal that the right topic had not yet been found. He then ranged over the whole field of politics, striking here and there without avail.

When he sat down he pointed out the enigma in the audience to the speaker who was to follow and urged him in a whisper to make special efforts to win his attention; but the second speaker also failed to interest him, and before the meeting closed the mysterious X rose to his full height and strode out of the room.

The campaign party journeyed on to the next rallying point where the speakers were scheduled for an evening meeting. When Senator Vorhees took his seat upon the platform and scanned the faces of his audience he was startled almost out of his chair by the appearance of the figure that had disturbed his afternoon meeting and he thought to himself, "Here is a seeker after light whose vote I must win to-night at all costs." Accordingly he summoned all of his strength; he told in his moving fashion some of the stories that had made juries weep and caused judges to bow their heads to hide their tears; then he ranged

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WHY I BELIEVE IN WOMAN SUFFRAGE

By S. Adolphus Knopf, M. D.

Professor of Medicine (Department of Phthisiotherapy) New York Post-Graduate Medical School and Hospital.

A lady friend asked me the other day whether I believed in woman suffrage. My answer being in the affirmative, she wished to know whether I had the courage to have everybody know this. I again said yes, whereupon she urged me to write an article for publication entitled "Why I Believe in Woman Suffrage." I hereby comply with this request.

I believe in Woman Suffrage with all my heart and understanding. My reasons for thus believing are based on justice and equality. I think the intelligent woman is the equal of the intelligent man; hence justice demands that she should have the same rights and privileges. Those who claim that man, because of his physical superiority and his power to protect "weak woman," should alone be entitled to cast a vote, forget that while woman may not always have the physique of man, she can endure physical suffering better and longer, and must, from the very nature of her being. Aside of this, we never ask the man voter about his physical endurance, his physical powers to fight or protect; in short, we do not care a rap about his physique.

We should care about his intellectual and moral attainments, that he should be worthy of the privilege of citizenship; but thus far in very rare instances is any inquiry made as to the intellectual and moral qualities of the male voter. The average politician wants the vote, and as long as it is cast for him and for his party, he does not care how degraded or ignorant the voter may be.

Concerning the subject of the physique of the voter, it might also be stated here for the benefit of the anti-suffragists, who do not believe that "frail woman" should vote, that in most of the Western States, and in some of the Eastern, the average height of the American-born woman is almost the same as that of the American-born man, and not in a few instances greater.

To the assertion that woman's intellectuality is inferior to that of man, it would seem hardly necessary to reply, for the absurdity of such a statement is self-evident. In prehistoric times, and up to a few hundred years ago, woman was considered the slave of man, as she still is in some barbarian parts of the world. She was not allowed to develop intellectually and in some uncivilized countries woman is still prevented from acquiring any education. However, from the moment that woman was regarded as the helpmate of man, and not as his slave, wherever girls have been given the same educational facilities as boys, woman has risen to be man's equal in intellect.

To those who claim that woman should not vote for moral reasons, that her refined nature is not adapted to meddle in politics, one may aptly reply that if politics are not pure, if voting is in some instances accompanied with rowdyism, indecencies, and even brutalities, it is man who created these conditions. All who have watched the progress of woman suffrage know that wherever woman entered into politics on an equality with man, the polls were better conducted and politics in general were improved.

Next in order come the family reasons, which opponents of woman suffrage are apt to cite in argument. A woman's place, they say, is the home; a mother's place is with her children. Leaving aside the thousands of single women who have no home duties, who are independent bread-winners, I ask, why, in the name of common sense, should a woman's love for home, husband, and children be lessened because she absents herself three or four times a year for either a local, State, or federal election? Why her duties as mother and wife should be less sacred to her because she keeps abreast with current events, is interested in all civic affairs that will improve her own lot, that of her children, and that of her husband, is difficult for any fair minded person to understand. Surely, the husband must be happier with an intellectual helpmate with whom he can discuss the events of the day, than with the old-fashioned housewife, who had no interests beyond the narrow horizon of her home.

And now for the religious reasons so fondly advanced by our pious anti-suffragists friends. The marriage ceremony of most orthodox churches still retains that "beautiful phrase" wherein the wife promises before the altar to obey her prospective husband. The young girl, hitherto free as a bird, must henceforth obey a lord and master. The bible does not teach anything to the contrary, and that settles the matter of woman suffrage for most unthinking minds and for the thinking male portion of the population, who, for reasons best known to themselves, wish to retain the control of the ballot for "strong man." To those who are firm believers in the orthodox marriage ceremony and in the infallibility of the Bible, let me say that both are the

works of men, for if a woman had had a hand in framing the marriage formula, she would never have put in the injunction of implicit obedience to "the lord and master." Our greatest theological scholars admit to-day that the Bible is the work of many men, and hence not infallible. Woman was not given an opportunity in the writing or the compilation of the good book. It is the work of men who lived in an age when laws and customs were different from what they are now. Woman had no more to say regarding the making of laws and customs in those olden times than she has now in most countries. Notwithstanding this, however, she is expected to obey man-made laws and to pay taxes, if she owns property. Although she must fulfill the obligations of a citizen, she is denied the rights of one. This may be justice according to men, but it is not justice according to God. Divine justice entitles woman, whether single or married, to the rights of citizenship, as much as it entitles man, single or married, to exercise this privilege.

For more than a quarter of a century, I, as a physician, have had the rare privilege of learning to know woman's mind in hours of pain, sorrow, distress, and suffering. What made me become an ardent advocate of woman's rights were the qualities of mind and heart, the intellect and average conception of right and wrong and of justice which I found among the women whom I have met. Many of them have been patients, some of them hopelessly ill, but their thoughts have always been for the improvement of the condition of those whom they feared to leave behind without sufficient guidance or direction. In my social work I have come in contact with the highest type of men and women who were devoting their lives to uplifting mankind.

What would my colleagues in the anti-tuberculosis crusade have done, what would I myself have done, without the help of that noble army of women workers who have been in the foreranks in this uphill fight against the great white plague? And not only in anti-tuberculosis work but also in the many other social reforms, such as suppression of child labor, improvement of the conditions in our prisons, asylums and reformatories, in the movement for better sanitation of factories, and better housing of the masses, the women outnumber the men in many instances.

Many of them have been the pathfinders and leaders to a better and higher conception of man's duty toward man. I will cite only a few names of the great women who have helped, and are still helping, to make history, and who certainly must be considered as pioneers in the onward march of humanity: Florence Nightingale, the founder of modern and scientific nursing of the sick; Lillian D. Wald, her most illustrious disciple, the founder of the nurses' settlements, institutions where even the poorest of the poor, when sick, now receive the benefit of scientific nursing and care; Mrs. Isaac L. Rice, that untiring worker for quiet for the sick, through whose efforts for a safe and sane celebration of the Fourth of July thousands of lives have been saved and will be saved in the future, and who, at this moment, almost single handed, has undertaken the fight to secure quiet in the neighborhood of our public schools during school sessions so that windows may be opened and the children may breathe God's pure, fresh air and still be able to hear the teacher's voice; Harriet Beecher Stowe, who by the power of her pen helped to liberate an enslaved race and thus removed a blot from American civilization; Jane Addams, that sublime example of what woman can do in uplift work; Florence Kelly, the indefatigable fighter for better wages for women and for the suppression of child labor; Maude E. Miner, the founder of Waverley House, where every one of her sisters who have fallen by the wayside (ninety-nine times out of a hundred through no fault of their own but through man's fault or conditions created by man) may find a welcome without question and an opportunity to become again an honest member of society; Mrs. Russell Sage, that venerable philanthropist, who is giving her all, not for the erection of monuments of stone, but for the improvement of the conditions of the poor; Bertha von Suttner, the author of "Lay Down Your Arms" ("Die Waffen nieder"), who is devoting her life to combating that most hideous of old and modern institutions—war; Madame Curie, the greatest living chemist, the discoverer of Radium and Polonium (the latter named after her beloved native land, where she is regarded as the best type of a truly patriotic woman). In Paris, where she now resides and occupies the chair of Chemistry at the University (College of France), she is known and beloved, not only on account of her scientific attainments, but also on account of her devotion to her late husband and her excellent qualities as a mother to her children. By mere energy, heroic self-denial and self sacrifice Mme. Curie overcame poverty, want, and a feeble physique, until to-day she is known all over the civilized world for her discoveries and labors in modern chemistry and is the most justly considered candidate for membership in the Institute of France, the greatest honor which France bestows upon her scientists. Another great heroic figure who deserves mention here is that martyr of modern Russia, Vinaida Konoplannikova, who, when led to the scaffold in the fortress of Schlusselburg for her revolutionary efforts to free Russia, ex-

pressed her regret that she had only her life to sacrifice on the altar of freedom for her unfortunate sisters and brothers in darkest Russia.

As the last but not the least of great women of our age, I must mention that lovable and great Scandinavian poet, writer and prophetess Selma Lagerlof, the recent winner of the Noble Prize for literature. Her view on woman suffrage represents perhaps the best and highest conception of the attitude of all true men and women. If I had not believed in woman suffrage before, I would have become converted through the prophetic words delivered recently by Selma Lagerlof before a large and enthusiastic audience of women in Stockholm. From a recent article which appeared in the *Sunday Times,* I quote some passages from the great author's address, translated by Mrs. Howard. They represent to my mind the best argument for woman suffrage:

"In creating the State man has stood alone. Nothing has impelled man to take woman into the hall of justice, into the civil service department, into the house of commerce. * * * * But has he succeeded? Witness the hatred between the classes; witness the loud cries from beneath, all the threats and revolutions, all the complaints of the unemployed. Does all this bear witness to his success? Or does it show that he can ever succeed?

"And mark you at this very hour when governments are tottering, admirably constructed though they be; when social revolution appears at our door; it is then that the great woman invasion into man's field of labor and into the territory of the State begins. Does this signify anything? Or does it only mean that women desire, wish a better lot in life, equality, change, freedom, power?

"Why does it come just now? One must be blind not to see, deaf not to hear. Has not something within been calling and urging: 'Go forth to new and difficult work. Take your place at the railway switch, sweep the streets, copy in the office, sell postage stamps in the Post Office, teach the elementary branches, sit at the telephone switch board, be a surgeon's assistant, do all this unimportant work, and be assured that it is not wasted. Be assured above all that it was necessary. You must enter all fields, you must be on hand everywhere if the State is ever to be beloved like the home. Be certain that your activities, now so despised, shall soon be valued and sought after. They will be in such demand that you will hardly be able to meet the wants. Be assured that we shall very soon be in evidence everywhere.' "

One more sentence from this wonderful speech which may well serve as a campaign document: "We believe that the winds of God are bearing us onward, that our little masterwork, the home, was our creation, with man's help. The State shall be perfected by man when in all seriousness he takes woman as his helper." What truly prophetic words!

Among all peoples in all ages women have equalled men in heroism, devotion to great causes and in labors for uplifting of the race. They have not always been known and their names may not have been recorded in history, but their name is legion and they are as numerous now as they ever were. Every mother who suffers the pangs of childbirth, every wife who toils for the comfort of her husband or children, every single woman who works in whatever sphere she may be placed and does her duty as best she can, adds to the world's progress. She is a soldier in the onward march of civilization. She is equally a burdenbearer with man.

And what shall we say of the widow who has been left to support and to educate a number of children alone and unaided? To my mind, she is the greatest of all heroines. It should be considered a privilege by men to help to create a law for the judicious pensioning of such women. What husband, father, son, or brother would not advocate such a measure? Yet it was in the minds of woman suffragists that the thought for the enactment of such a benign and just law originated. Where is the truly honest thinking man, loving husband, devoted brother or son, who would dare to say to the woman he honors "You are not as good as I am, not as strong, nor as wise, hence you must not vote and citizenship must be denied to you?"

Such men will become rarer and rarer; progress is inevitable; the dawn of higher civilization spells equal rights, equal responsibilities and equal privileges for woman, and a better world for both, man and woman.

The work of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt in South Africa during the past weeks has borne results in a great South African Convention, held at Durban, October 17th, 18th and 19th, to which came delegates from the various towns where she had been speaking.

We regret that space does not permit a full account of the two booths managed by the Woman Suffrage Party at Madison Square Garden in the weeks just past. Mrs. Helen Secor Tonjes assumed the responsibility for the booth at the Domestic Science Exhibition and Miss Edith Whitmore took the management of the booth at the Real Estate Fair. Both events were excellent opportunities for propaganda and great credit is due these women for their work on these occasions. We know they are generous enough and sufficiently interested in suffrage to realize that emphasis must always be laid on future plans, rather than on past performances.

GLEANINGS FROM THE "ANTIS"

[Mr. Hirschberg's speech against woman suffrage in the New York Convention of 1894.]

"It is surely the conservative course of wisdom to retain the existing conditions under which we have achieved our great happiness and prosperity. The present position of woman in this State is most enviable. She has education in its fullest and highest development. She has absolute and unfettered ownership of her property. Every avenue of trade for which she is physically fitted is freely opened to her, and in the enjoyment of her rights she is protected by equal laws which are jealously and even sympathetically enforced for her benefit."

Speaking of education in its fullest and highest development as being open to women, we are incidentally reminded of the present overcrowding of schools in New York City and the fact that thousands of children cannot find seating places in the New York City schools to-day. We are also reminded of how every little girl has open before her a college course—if she can get it. Woman has to-day absolute ownership of her property and she got it by violent agitation against the very type of man represented by Mr. Hirschberg, who employed all the stale arguments against it which Mr. Hirschberg uses against the ballot. Avenues of trade are open to her, but they were only opened after a long and bitter fight against masculine prejudices. The working women of New York have not noticed the jealous and sympathetic way in which protective legislation has been enacted and enforced for their benefit.

He knows it all.

"In the domains of science, of art, of literature, and of charitable and religious labor her position is that of a specially invited and a favored worker. And with it all she is still permitted to retain her essentially sweet and feminine qualities which draw to her the respect, the deference and the homage of man. She rules at the fireside, in the school-room, by the bed of pain and in the temples of charity; and her powerful influence pervades every department of human endeavor, industry and enlightenment, unmixed with baser matter."

That is, all the nice, perfumed, sweet jobs are given to woman while she is protected from the nasty duty of voting on election day. The eloquent Mr. Hirschberg does not think that woman will loose any of her essential sweet and feminine qualities by scrubbing office floors, running washing machines in laundries, working in crowds of rough and boisterous males in factories and workshops—she only looses her sweet qualities, the dear thing, when she votes.

"She is recognized as the great and tender and ameliorating factor in every relation of our complex life. She sweetens and glorifies prosperity; she soothes and alleviates adversity. Poverty is not felt amid the consolations of her companionship and sorrow ceases in the presence of her smiles."

If you are poverty-stricken, marry and forget it.

"I would not drag her down from this high and favored position at the instigation of thoughtless agitators to take her chances in the turmoil of our political life without the clearest evidence that it is necessary for the maintenance of her independence and the preservation of her happiness."

It would be a shame to drag working women and girls from their exalted thrones by the loom, the spinning machine and the dye vat to run the risk of their lives in expressing their opinion at the ballot box as to what should be the policy of the government.

(Other enlightened arguments against woman's suffrage like those advanced by Mr. Root and Mr. Hirschberg are to be found in the Revised Record of the Constitutional Convention of New York, 1894, Volume II, pp. 405 ff.)

ONE ANSWER TO THE "ANTIS"

WHY THE DOCTOR SHOULD VOTE

By Doctor Maude Glasgow

The doctor has frequently thrust upon her notice the necessity of giving to woman herself a voice in decisions affecting her own welfare. Nowadays when nearly seven millions of women are working outside the home, it is essential, if we would maintain the virility of the race, to take into consideration the different physical construction of woman, allowing her to help solve her own problems; and not forcing her to toil under conditions made for her by a sex totally different—not compelling her to labor under conditions which man made for himself. The conditions under which she labors frequently entail suffering on herself, while it is also calculated to injure her offspring. Yet, being without representation she may not seek to have such conditions altered no matter how vicious the consequences may be both to the woman and to the race.

That masculine solicitude which would exempt woman from all activity save that of childbearing, does not agitate to give the pregnant woman with a family to support, a needed rest—for a few weeks before and after her confinement, though such rest is essential to the well-being of both the woman and her child. In New Zealand, where women vote, the mother is cared for, at this critical time, by the State, if necessary, but here, where woman may not express herself authoritatively on this or any other question, the energy and vitality of the prospective mother is drained away, or consumed in productive industry which adds to the natural wealth of some one, who probably would never miss it if it were withheld, while the child is deprived of its just due, as the mother dissipates her strength in making money for her employer, instead of conserving it for the future citizen.

As no industry is more important than the raising of healthy children, we see what a short-sighted policy it is which denies to the class most interested in the welfare of the family, a voice in decisions affecting its best interests. The masculine qualities which pervade our purely virile government take cognizance of business and material wealth so that about nine-tenths of our laws are made for the protection of property. Money can be had without stint for any project which appeals to the masculine imagination, whether it is battleships or hogs or inebriates, but money is always given grudgingly if it is to be spent in the interests of a disfranchised class, even if the latter have contributed their full share of that money. So, while money may be voted to care for inebriate men or spent in firing off military salutes, it is a struggle to get what we want for factory inspectors (fancy 22 inspectors in Illinois to care for the interests of 250,000 women) and schools and for commissions to look into the conditions under which women and children work. The doctor realizes how important questions dealing with the interests of women and children are, and how they should take precedence of all others.

THE LADY AND THE LOAFER.

By Kate Stephens.

Just where our broad Snob Boulevard cuts Quiet Street half way,
A lady met a loafer in the street one day:
A not uncommon lady, with frills and lackaday!
And an ordinary loafer, I hasten to say,
Excused by neither kith nor wealth from having work each day.

The lady gathered in her skirts, and to the loafer said,
"A loafer's a degenerate, a man's ambition dead—
Away! and fill your hands with work, and earn your meat and bread!"

The loafer, dazed, pulled at his pipe; then answered, "Honor bright!
You, too're a loafer, lady; to loaf you think's your right;
Away! and do some human work, you social parasite!"

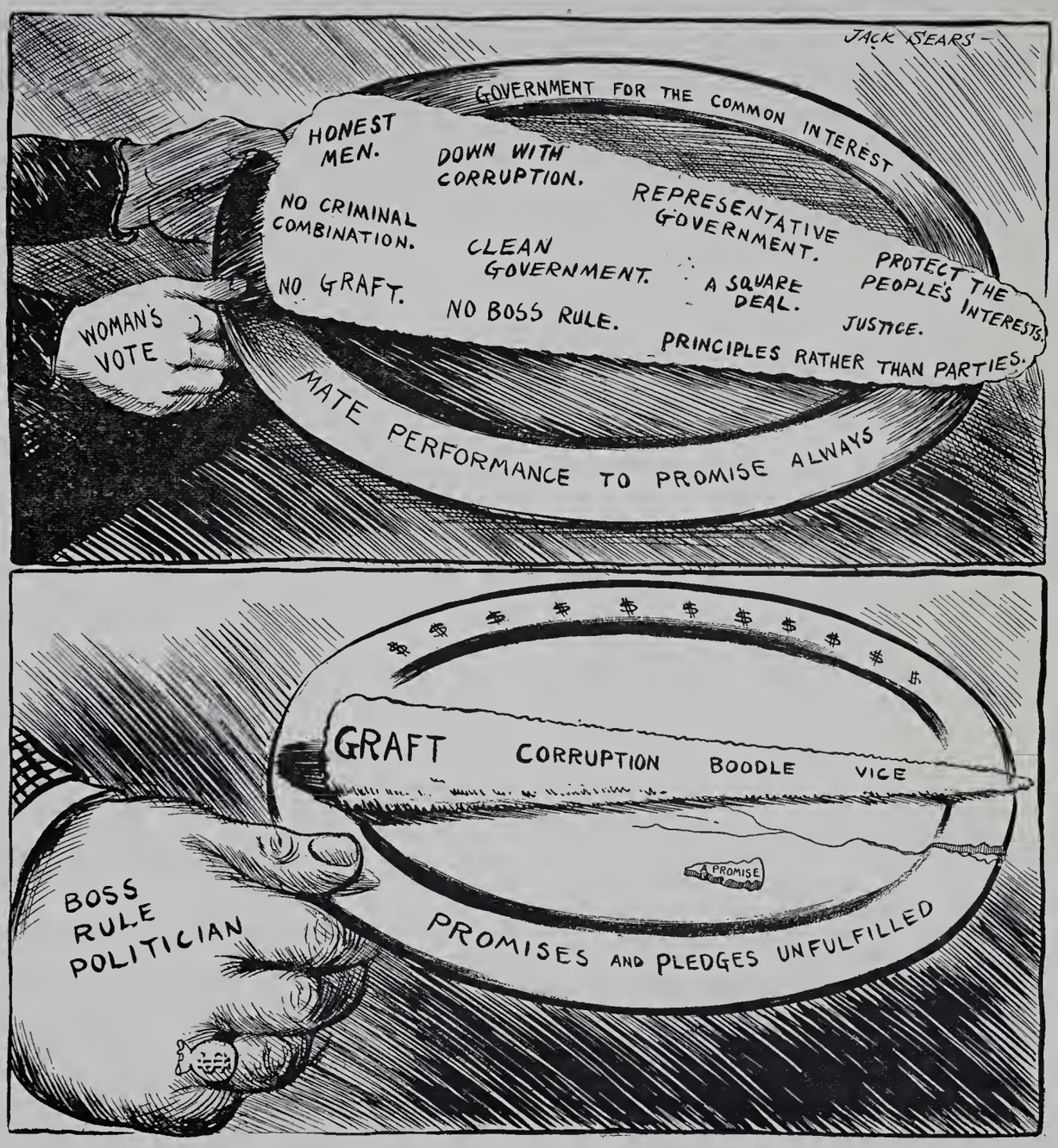
They both passed on—as they will go until God's time is ripe:
She lunched with other Overfeds and played at bridge till night;
He talked of sports athletic, and pulled at cigarette and pipe.

We call the attention of our readers to the work of two of our suffrage actresses.

Beatrice Forbes-Robertson (Mrs. Swinburne Hale) will appear under the management of Wm. B. Feakins, in lectures on the Drama, English Politics and Woman Suffrage.

Miss Vida Sutton has prepared two lectures on the Drama and Democracy and Woman Suffrage, and will likewise appear under the management of Mr. Feakins.

The Corn or the Cob—Which ?



The above cartoon was generously presented to us by Mr Jack Sears of the Evening Journal. Instead of writing an article on suffrage, he gives us his point of view in pictorial form.

WHY I BELIEVE IN WOMAN SUFFRAGE

By Dorothy Dix.

A CORRESPONDENT asks me why I believe in giving women the ballot, and what good it will accomplish to grant women the right to vote.

I believe that women should be given the right of suffrage:

Because taxation without representation is tyranny.

Because all just government must rest upon the consent of the governed.

Because America can never be a real democracy until all of its people, whether male or female, participate equally in the government.

Because it is eminently unjust that one half of the people should be ruled by the other half, simply because one half is male and the other is female.

Because the accident of sex should not be made a woman's shame, and place the noblest and most intelligent woman in the same class as the most degraded man.

Because no man can any more represent a woman at the polls than he can in a millinery shop.

Because men and women are not alike in strength or mentality. They have different needs and need different representation in the government.

Because there are six million wage-earning women in the United States, and these women have a vital need for a voice in determining the conditions under which they work and for their own protection.

Because the class that furnishes three-fourths of the high school graduates, and only 3 per cent. of the criminals will make desirable citizens.

PRESENT GOVERNMENT UNJUST.

Because just as it takes a man and a woman working shoulder to shoulder, with every faculty of heart and head brought into play, to make the ideal home, so it will take men and women working together, side by side, giving the best of both masculine and feminine qualities, to make the ideal country. A solely masculine, or feminine world is unthinkable. A solely masculine government is iniquitously unjust.

I believe:

That woman will have the same effect upon politics that she has upon society, that she will elevate it, purify it, humanize it. The very first result of woman's suffrage in Colorado was to take the primaries and the voting places out of the back rooms of saloons into the school houses and churches, and to remove the polling booths from boot-blacking establishments and such places to respectable quarters.

I believe that the very fact that woman's range of vision is largely personal, and that she will probably look at the man more intently that she does at the the issue, will make for the putting up of clean candidates for office, and make the election of notoriously corrupt men an impossibility when women are given the right to vote.

I believe that women, who make up the congregations in churches, who run the hospitals and philanthropies, and who are the mainstay of every movement that has the bettering of the world for its object, will be a great power for righteousness in civic life.

I believe that one of the most beneficial effects of giving women the franchise will be that they will quicken the civic conscience of men, and that just as a devout woman now takes her good but indifferent husband to church with her, the woman with the responsibilities of citizenship heavy on her shoulders, will take her husband with her to the polling booth and thus two votes will be cast for good government where only too frequently none at all is cast now.

I believe that the minute women get the right to vote we will be done with child labor, and that far better laws will be passed for the protection of the working women, and to safeguard young girls. In every case where a law has been passed raising the age of consent for young girls, there has been the united womanhood of the State behind it.

INCREASE INTELLIGENCE.

I believe that the moral effect of having responsibility of citizenship laid upon them will give an enormous impetus to developing the character of the women themselves; that it will make them bigger, broader, more intelligent, and that it cannot but be beneficial for the mothers of the race to spend more time in studying the science of government, and less on the science of bridge whist.

I believe that the influence of mothers over their sons and of women over men generally will be enormously increased by giving women the ballot. A boy cannot help but despise the judgment of his mother when he knows that the law classes her in the same category with idiots, the criminal, and the insane, and keeps her a perpetual minor. Nor can a man really hold in reverence the woman he also holds as a chattel.

I believe that the best and only effective "trust busters" will be the woman voter. Put the ballot in the hand of the woman who daily finds that her dollar or two of market money buys less and less milk and meat, and bread for the hungry brood, and she will find some way to curb the rapacity of the great corporations that make millionaires of the few and paupers of the many.

The trusts and the machine politicians do well to oppose woman suffrage, for their day will be ended when woman is given the ballot.

THE AFFINITY OF THE SPIRIT

By Eugenia Rabbas

Whether Robert Grey loved her or not, a question which had given Jane Hollister considerable thought during the past year, seemed nearer being answered than ever before as she sat poring over a much-revised, closely-written manuscript, belonging to him.

The flush on her cheeks deepened and an exultant throb of happiness thrilled her from head to foot with each new realization of similarity between herself and the clear-cut heroine who walked, so gloriously alive, through the pages of this, his latest book.

Even though it was an idealized Jane, pictured by an idealist, there was no mistaking the model, for not only form and features, but mannerisms, thoughts, in fact, Jane's very personality dominated every page of the story.

In the several years of their companionship Robert Grey had come to know a great deal about her, Jane thought, sure at last. No man could so sympathetically comprehend a woman unless he loved her.

A rap at the door made her gather up the scattered leaves of the manuscript with an absurd feeling of self-concealment. "Am I disturbing a love letter?" The intruder, Jane's cousin, Helen Carrol, who was visiting her, sank lazily into the nearest chair.

Jane was driven to directness. "It's a new book that I am looking over," she replied with disconcerting brevity.

But Helen was not easily abashed. "What a dreadfully wicked story it must be to make you look so guilty!" she teased. "Is it one of Robert Grey's?"

"Ye—s," Jane hesitatingly assented, then, "would you like to meet him?" she asked, with desperate intent to divert Helen's attention from the manuscript.

"Would I like to meet him! Why, Jane, nothing would give me greater pleasure."

"He is going to call this evening and if you promise not to flirt too outrageously with him I'll introduce you."

There was a shade of something in Jane's manner that Helen was quick to see. "Which means that he is your special property?"

"Nonsense, Helen, Robert Grey and I have been friends for years; so you see, as his friend, it is my obvious duty to protect him from you."

"When a man submits all of his work to a woman for approval there isn't much chance for another to flirt with him," Helen observed, sagaciously, "so I'll be satisfied with just a glance at your famous Robert Grey."

Jane gave her cousin a reflective look. "He'll admire you, Helen. Mr. Grey is very sensitive to beauty."

Helen flushed with pleasure. "That is very nice of you, Janie, but I know, too, that a man of Robert Grey's type is more appreciative of brains. Oh, that I were one of those rare mortals who had the good fortune to possess both!"

"There is something better than either beauty or brains, Helen, and that is charm," Jane remarked, thoughtfully.

"And what constitutes charm, may I ask?"

"Charm? To my way of thinking, charm is spirit, soul—something deeper and more lasting than bright eyes and a perfect complexion, something that makes a woman more beautiful at sixty than at twenty."

Helen gave herself a satisfied glance in the mirror opposite. "You will have to teach me, cousin mine, how to acquire this magic charm which makes old age so desirable," she answered, a touch of malice under the drawling sweetness of her voice.

"To teach, one must have; you flatter me," Jane retorted, lightly.

The maid, announcing Mr. Grey, ended the discussion, and Jane rose in evident relief. "Come, Helen," she exclaimed, with the frank eagerness of a child.

Helen smiled banteringly. "I'll come down later; you'll be wanting to discuss the book first."

"You wouldn't be 'de trop' even so," suggested Jane politely, but Helen shook her head and Jane went down without her, conscious of an overwhelming feeling of gratitude to her despite their somewhat unsympathetic relations.

She paused a moment at the door of the library, a throbbing sense of emotion that was almost painful in its intensity, surging through her whole being; then schooling herself to her usual noncommittal friendliness, she softly entered.

Mr. Grey was already lost in a book, but he cast it aside with joyous abandon the instant he became aware of Jane's presence. "Finish your story," she commented, smilingly, satisfied that he should do so now that she knew he didn't care to.

"A story, Jane, when I can talk to a real, live woman, who is far nicer than any made-up heroine," he said, and rising he bowed before her with an old-fashioned chivalry that suited admirably his fine air of personal distinction.

"That is a very sweeping assertion, Bobbie Grey. I am afraid I will never be able to live up to it."

He looked at her quizzically. "You won't find

it difficult to live up to my heroine, Jane, for she is you."

To her extreme annoyance Jane blushed. "I, as I should be, not as I am," she protested, coldly, to hide her confusion.

"You are displeased, Jane, at my audacity?" Mr. Grey's eyes sought hers pleadingly.

Jane laughed, a note of perfect happiness. "Displeased! Why, I am fairly radiating with pride to have been so honored."

"What do you think of her? My Jane?"

"I think you have endowed her with so much wisdom and charm that the real Jane is entirely obliterated."

"Dear me, I hope I haven't perfected her beyond all human semblance, this heroine of mine. I was flattering myself on my comprehension of a very charming woman," Robert lamented, dolefully, but his eyes laughed at Jane. "Is that a criticism?" he added seriously.

"Indeed, no; it's a compliment, for it takes a nice mind to create nice people. Perhaps if I try hard enough I can succeed in being like her. There is nothing like having a pattern before one to live up to, you know," Jane replied, a look of such wistful longing in her dark eyes that Mr. Grey leaned forward and tilted back her chin with anxious inquiry.

"Why, Janie, your expression is positively tragic. My story didn't affect you like that, did it?"

All the joy and gladness she felt in his book came trooping back into her eyes. "It's the best thing you've ever written, Robert. It is poetry, prose, life and ideals all woven together into a worth-while everyday existence. But don't you think you have been a little hard on Hortense, your modern Helen of Troy?"

"I thought about that for a long time. You see, I wanted to make it so obvious that it wouldn't escape the most casual reader that beauty in itself will not make a woman companionable, or even interesting."

"Yes, but you know, too, Robert, that most men are influenced by beauty in spite of that fact, and you have actually punished Hortense for being beautiful by making her extremely unpopular. That doesn't seem quite plausible."

Mr. Grey reflected. "I didn't wish to imply that men didn't care for Hortense because she was beautiful, but knowing that she was vain and selfish, her beauty lost its appeal. I must have bungled that, somehow."

Jane was all sympathy. "You didn't bungle it, only you made it too sweeping. Beauty would lose its appeal to some men when not accompanied by character, but not to all men."

"Well, didn't I grant Hortense absolute sway over Mr. Harderer, the multi-millionaire lumber man?" protested Robert.

"And did you graciously concede her that?" Jane teased, her eyes provokingly amused. "Well, I'll confess, Robert, I didn't finish your book, so I was not aware of your admission of weakness in even one of your sex. I'm having a guest, my cousin is visiting me, and that is the reason. Helen is very anxious to know you, so I had better go and find her."

Jane rose, but Mr. Grey caught her hand and held her prisoner. "Not just yet, Jane." Then, "Is she like you?" he asked, looking up at her.

"Like me?" A sudden thought flashed through Jane's mind and she stood still, staring at Mr. Grey. Helen was the exact counter-part of the beautiful, vain, selfish woman of his story. What a situation! She released her hand smilingly. "You must meet her, Robert, and I am afraid she will be feeling neglected if I wait any longer," she said, ignoring his question.

She hurried up-stairs, bringing Helen down with her, keenly alert as to the first impression of her beauty on Mr. Grey.

His look of courteous interest changed to one of surprised, frank admiration as his eyes fell on her, and Jane did not wonder at it, for there had been a method in Helen's delay. She had changed her simple, white gown for one of clinging black lace and when she stepped under the soft lights which revealed every shade of gold in the masses of her bronze hair and made yet more alluring the rose-tinted, flawless complexion, his eyes paid silent tribute to her loveliness.

"My cousin, Miss Carrol," Jane announced, laconically.

Helen's languorous, heavily lashed eyes looked unutterable things at Mr. Grey, but she was far from satisfied with "just a glance," for she proceeded to make herself as charming as she knew how, and she knew how to an extent that surprised even Jane. Her languid, bored cousin suddenly became vitally interested, and smiled adoring approval to every thing that Mr. Grey said.

And Robert liked it, Jane could see that. He stayed unusually late and planned all sorts of festivities for the remainder of Helen's stay. Theatres, operas, art galleries, in short, every attraction that New York offered was to be at her disposal.

Jane smilingly agreed to all this dissipation with a brave attempt at enthusiasm, and indeed, she told herself that she was reflecting some very unlovely traits by having to assume enthusiasm. She knew she should be genuinely pleased at the interest Robert was displaying in her cousin, but try as she might, she could not help a feeling of disappointment.

When at last she was alone she thought regretfully of her spoiled evening that was to have meant so much to her. But it was just punishment, she decided, for allowing herself to be un-

generous where Robert was concerned. She had been curt, too, with Helen, who had chosen to dwell on Mr. Grey's niceness after his departure.

With a feeling of inward dissatisfaction she turned to her mirror. Jane possessed all of a woman's instinctive desire for beauty, but to her beauty had always seemed as much, if not more, an internal process as an external happening. Now, as she studied her face intently, she concluded that she had been wrong after all. Her thin, pale face, with its great, dark eyes, was only interesting looking, and what was that compared to such beauty as Helen's!

Then she remembered what Robert had said about beauty losing its appeal when devoid of spiritual attraction and she wondered if many men stopped to consider those things when in the company of a beautiful woman. But Robert was the kind who did. The thought of that comforted her exceedingly.

She was honestly ashamed of herself and made up for it by inviting Robert to dine with them the very next day. Helen was so openly delighted and sparkled so dazzlingly over the prospect that Jane felt dark and somber looking in comparison.

However, she made herself be gay, and with infinite tact she steered the conversation into the comfortable channel of generalities where Helen might safely venture with them, her ready wit a bar to all dullness.

And so it continued to be in the evenings that followed. It was Jane who furnished the mental stimulus for their little party, and because her heart was heavy and her nerves tense, she was all the more brilliant. But Robert was too absorbed in Helen to be aware of the unhappiness in her eyes or to catch the sob in her laughter and if Helen knew, she gave no sign, the only difference being a marked avoidance of Mr. Grey as a topic of conversation when they were alone.

Jane tried several times to invent excuses for not accompanying them, but Robert would not hear of it, and that, meagre as it was, gave Jane some little consolation; also the hope that after Helen's departure things would adjust themselves to their old relations.

The interminable fortnight came to an end at last and Jane pleaded a headache the final night of Helen's stay, but she was tempted to reverse her decision of positively not going out to dinner with her and Robert, when she caught the gleam of triumph in her cousin's eye.

She was surprised at the slumbering possibilities of aversion that lay hidden in the depths of her own nature, and it was only by the exercise of the greatest self-control that she succeeded in saying nothing more than: "Your expression isn't very flattering, Helen."

"Isn't it?" responded Helen, indifferently, "I am sure we will miss you."

Jane ignored her tone. "And excuse me to Mr. Grey, please. I don't think I shall wait to see him."

The thought that it was the last evening of her cousin's interference with the established order of her and Robert's friendship sent Jane to sleep earlier than had been habitual with her of late, and she was only half awake when a rap at her door was followed by a bright gleam of electric light from the hall, outlining Helen's radiant face in the door-way.

"Is it morning?" she asked, sleepily rubbing her eyes.

Helen laughed softly. "Oh, no, it is only a little after eleven. But I couldn't go to bed without telling you, Jane, that—that—I am engaged to Robert Grey."

For an instant life stopped for Jane and her soul stood face to face with a despair so overwhelming that she could hardly grasp it. There was a silence as of death between the two women.

Jane was the first to break it. "You—are—engaged—to—Robert—Grey?" she whispered, then with tremendous effort she forced herself to conventionalities. "I wish you all joy, Helen, but I am too sleepy to talk about it now," she said, in a voice which all the conventionalities in the world could not free from pain.

Even at this moment Jane felt grateful to her cousin for her deliberate blindness. "I am sorry to have awakened you, but I just had to tell somebody. Good-night," she told her, closing the door very softly.

The night was all too short in its hideous length for Jane to arrive at any sort of adjustment with her shattered, inmost self, and morning found her both mentally and physically ill. Not only was she face to face with the wreck of her own joyous hopes, but her instinctive knowledge of the disillusionment that lay hidden in this rash act of Robert's made it a double tragedy to her.

That her faith in Robert had not been justified did not lessen Jane's love for him. With her clear insight into human nature she could readily understand the attraction beauty like Helen's would have for a man of his temperament, but a momentary attraction and marriage were two different things. Her heart ached, not only for the loss of her own happiness, but the misery that was sure to result from a union in which there was absolutely no affinity of the spirit.

She made no pretense whatever at regret for her cousin's departure. "You have won the love of a good man, Helen. Try to be worthy of it," she said grimly, which was all the allusion she made to the engagement.

Alone in her large, rather gloomy home, where she had been living with only their old house-

keeper ever since her father's death, Jane found her surroundings intolerable after the loss of so absorbing a companionship as Robert Grey had supplied. Not that he had forsaken her entirely, for he telephoned immediately after Helen's departure, asking Jane when she would be at home to him; but she could not bring herself to see him. She put him off with a jest and a promise, then fled to her aunt's in the country, sending him a friendly little note of regret for her hurried departure.

Out of the chaos of her shattered hopes Jane slowly and painfully fashioned a philosophy of life which gave her courage to go on. She could see how her own suffering had made her conscious of all the suffering about her and had developed latent possibilities in her character which perhaps only suffering would have aroused.

When she returned to the city she wrote to Helen and answered Robert's note asking to see her, telling him that she would be home the following evening.

With firm resolve to cure herself of all sentimental fancies she donned Robert's favorite gown, a dainty rose-colored chiffon, but the nervous tremor of her little, slender hands belied her outward calmness, and when at last he really stood before her and she was looking into the face that she loved above anything else in the world, she could not say a word.

He took both her hands and Jane, try as she might, could not keep the love and longing out of her eyes. Robert's lips, too, were dumb, but a revelation that fairly bewildered her with its mighty rush of joy spoke to Jane out of his own eyes, and with a low-spoken, tremulous "Jane," he had gathered her into his arms.

She released herself quickly. "Robert, what are you doing!" she exclaimed, wildly, dropping into the nearest chair.

"Yes, what have I done!" he said, leaning heavily over the back of her chair. "Oh, Jane, what have I done!" he repeated, helplessly.

If Jane had been miserable and unhappy she knew now that Robert had been even more so. One glance at him told her that. She rose and looked at him long and silently, and there was no more need of words between them.

"And you cared all the time?" he asked, brokenly.

"I did," Jane answered, simply.

He led her to the couch and was about to draw her to him, but she shook her head. "No, Robert, you mustn't do that. It isn't fair to Helen."

Robert dropped his head into his hand. "No, Jane, it isn't fair to Helen," he said slowly. "Jane, how could I have been so blind," he went on, passionately, "it was you, you, all the time I cared for and I never discovered it until you went away. And, Helen—I must have been mad, but God help me, I know now that I do not love her."

Jane touched the bowed head gently. "It may be all for the best, Robert. Our love might have made us selfish and now—we—must—" her voice faltered, "we must give each other up and that may make us strong."

"Yes, yes, Jane, I deserve it, for I was weak, contemptibly weak. But you, you, what have you ever done that you should suffer, too?"

"The thought that you care will help me, dear."

There was a long silence. "I went to see Helen while you were away, Jane," Robert said, after a while. "She thinks we should be married soon, next month. She doesn't like village life after her glimpse of New York."

Jane winced. "And so—the date is set?"

"Yes, the first of November." Robert's voice was lifeless. He rose, and, walking to the window, he looked vaguely out into the quiet street. Jane, with the sympathy and understanding of a great love, could feel the struggle for happiness in his soul.

After a long time he turned, an expression in his white, set face, which told Jane that Robert Grey was now in truth the different man she had deemed him two months ago.

"Jane, dear," he began, gravely, "I said things in my book which I knew in my heart were true but which, like the average man, I had to learn the truth of by experience. It is so easy to theorize, but it is the test of a theory that really makes it one's own. I know now that the only love worth while must be based on something more lasting than physical attraction. I thought I knew that before, but you see, I had to be convinced by experience. 'Experience is the best teacher, but she sends in terrific bills,'" he quoted, grimly. "I must pay but you—you must pay, too. It isn't fair."

Jane forgot her own great unhappiness in his. "Don't worry about me, dear," she told him, gently. "My disappointment has made me stronger in a great many ways and any suffering that does that will not be in vain." She rose and came over to him. "I think, Robert, it would be easier for both of us if we did not see each other any more for some time." Jane was bordering on the limits of her powers of self-control. She held out her hand silently, and as silently Robert took it into his own, the physical

(*Continued on page 24*)

A RARE OLD VINTAGE

The United States has a new paper—*Satire*—which is said to be humorous, by its editors who, with due modesty, declare their publication to be the American Punch.

A fair-minded examination, however, shows its claims upon our sense of humor to be slight indeed. Their jokes display all the finesse of a Broadway advertisement. Those that do not smell of the oil lamp savor of the public house. That there are amid the painful efforts some pieces of near-wit cannot be denied, but on the whole, it is spoiled by the overstrain that obtrudes at every point.

The most significant feature of the first number is the fact that the editors recognize Woman Suffrage to be prominent in the popular mind as to deserve a thrust on nearly every page. We are glad to record this single piece of penetration on the part of the new venture—it is the one ray of light in general gloom. But the jokes on Woman Suffrage are so stricken with years that it is painful to behold their wrinkled faces. The only great point which seems to have escaped their livid imagination is that the husbands of women suffragists are all at home darning socks, pacifying squalling infants and doing the family wash.

The burden of the clever phillipics is that women suffragists are ugly old frights, that they wear hobble skirts or trousers, and that they smoke cigarettes. The editor sees no humor in the "antis" and dive-keepers standing on the same platform to protect the home or running about the country preaching and exemplifying the moral precept that women should stay at home.

But we stay our pen and for want of space and reproduce (through the courtesy of our new editors) their charming cartoon illustrating a "story" inspired by the news that the women of Turkey are insisting on the right to appear in public without the heavy veil. The rare old brand of this wit need not be analyzed for our readers.

WHAT TO READ.

The Spirit of Conservatism in the Light of History, by Prof. James H. Robinson. Reprinted from The Journal of Philosophy, Psychology and Scientific Methods, Vol. VIII, No. 10, May 11, 1911. We regret that lack of space prevents our printing this wonderful analysis of conservative reactions, but we recommend it to all our readers as one of the best contributions of the day to progressive thought.

We were pleased to learn that our September issue attracted the attention of the editors of *The Forecast* through its discussion of poisoned candy. We are glad to call the notice of our readers to a splendid series of articles beginning in the July number of *The Forecast* on The Fight for Pure Food, by H. P. Cassidy, the man who ranks second to none but Dr. Wiley in this crusade. Mr. Cassidy's strange and interesting experiences with the "dopers" are related and there are pictures of the hokey pokey that poisons children, of dirty cake and bread markets, and cartoons.

The International (N. Y.), in May, 1911, began a symposium on Woman's Suffrage, which was participated in by George Foster Peabody, Prof. Vida D. Scudder, Alexander Harvey, Robert Herrick, Annie Nathan Meyer, Prof. John Dewey, Edith Wynne Matthison, Elbert Hubbard, Hamilton Holt, Charlotte P. Gilman, Theodore Schroeder and Upton Sinclair.

The June number had an interesting symposium on divorce.

THE PRESS ON SUFFRAGE

WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND WHITE SLAVERY.

What is the remedy for white slavery? Answer the question, "What is the remedy for the social evil?" and you will have the reply. One goes with the other. One furnishes the fuel that feeds the flame. It may appear venturesome for an unpracticed hand to undertake to solve the problem which has perplexed all ages and all peoples and which appears no nearer a solution to-day than it was a century ago, says Harriet Quimby, in Leslie's; but it will be solved some day, and the solution will come, in my judgment, when those who believe in better things take the matter into their own hands and give us a better government—not only of the State and nation, but of municipalities, where vice prevails and white slavery is encouraged by official sanction and under a system of blackmail as revolting as it is indescribable. I say this with knowledge of the facts, because I have just had in my hands the voluminous and official reports made to the former acting mayor, John Purroy Mitchel, regarding the prevalence of vice in New York. This testimony all pointed in one direction, and that is that vice prevails and white slavery is tolerated because those who should suppress these evils do not faithfully perform their duty. Men have had the right to vote, and what has been the result? If the women had the right to vote, would things be different? That must be left for the arbitrament of the future. Why not give the women a chance? Certainly the men thus far have failed.—*Oneida Despatch,* September 15.

It is urged by some that the giving of the ballot to women would retard our progress until such time as they become sufficiently familiar with it to know how to properly make use of it. This is a very weak argument, because it simply means that women must be perpetually denied the right of franchise in order that we may not receive a temporary setback. Such arguments carried to their logical conclusion, mean that women must be denied a fundamental right because the granting of it would temporarily inconvenience men. We do not believe that many men are so selfish as to be influenced by such an argument.—*Labor Clarion,* September 8, San Francisco.

SUFFRAGISTS ON WAR PATH.

Preparing to Re-invade the State Capitol.

FACTIONS BURY THE HATCHET.

First They're Going to Clean up Everything in New York, Then Go for Us.

Sh, boys, gum shoe it for the bomb-proofs! The great and noble army of suffragettes, also gists, is goo-gooing Albanyward again. This has no reference to the Lew Fields brand, which has already captured the town. If any of that sort should get you the chances are that you might survive the shock without putting up much of a "holler," as we express it in polite police circles. But the other sort—ouch!—*Times-Union,* Albany, September 27.

THE QUESTION OF RIGHT INVOLVED IN SUFFRAGE.

The Bee publishes to-day a communication from the Southern California Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, in which it is declared that "not half the women in the State will use the ballot when they get it," and that the Association protests against having the ballot "thrust upon them."

It remains to be seen what proportion of the women will use the ballot when they get it, and no one can tell in advance what that will be. In Seattle and other cities the proportion has been unexpectedly large.

The main question, however, is the right of women to vote. That should not be denied to those willing to exercise it, merely because some of their sisters do not want it or might not use it if they had it.

It is a mistake to say an attempt is being made to "force" the ballot on unwilling women. There is no "force" involved. The only question before the male voters is that of recognizing the right of women to the ballot, and whether they shall cease to be constitutionally classed with idiots, insane persons and criminals, as barred from the polls.—*Sacramento Bee,* August 25.

The State Federation of Women's Clubs will meet in this city from November 14th to 17th, at Hotel Astor. Twelve hundred delegates are expected. Both sides of all the leading questions of the day will be presented. November 15th will be Suffrage Night.

THE CO-OPERATIVE COMMITTEE AND THE CALL FOR A GREAT UNION PARADE.

Since the last issue of *The Woman Voter* there seems to have arisen some misunderstanding concerning the objects and work of the Co-operative Committee which was then announced. The object of this committee is to conserve and unify suffrage effort in all matters of general suffrage interest. Feeling that there has been much duplication in the expenditure of time, money and energy in the past because of divided efforts, and also feeling that the time for presenting a united front to a strong enemy had come, suffrage organizations in New York were invited by the State Woman Suffrage Association to send a representative to a meeting on May 8th, when co-operation along big, broad lines would be considered. Several meetings were held without actually perfecting a co-operative plan, but on September 18th it was voted to establish co-operation through a central committee, it having developed in the discussions that several of the organizations had recognized the necessity for such a union even before the call had come from the State Association. Six organizations were represented at the conference which finally established the committee, and while the work of this committee has not as yet received the endorsement of all the organizations represented (in some cases the committee members being appointed rather than delegated), it is hoped that when the object and scope of the committee is understood, all suffrage organizations may unite on a responsible basis.

Because I believe that this quiet, unheralded conference represents a tremendous stride onward and upward, I beg every loyal suffragist in New York State to stand faithfully by what may be made to become a great and effective union of forces. The principle involved in the idea of this co-operative committee is union or non-union of suffrage organizations when and where it requires the co-operation of all for success.

The first four important matters upon which the committee, as now constituted, has felt co-operation essential to success are: 1st, political work; 2nd, legislative work; 3rd, a parade, and 4th, the establishment of a bulletin for all big suffrage meetings in order to avoid unfortunate conflict of dates. Such a bulletin is to be kept at the headquarters of the State Association, and Mrs. Belmont has also offered to place on her bulletin board which hangs in front of the headquarters of the Political Equality League notices of all suffrage meetings.

Much good work has been done at Albany by different organizations, but undoubtedly the effectiveness of such legislative work can be tripled if energies can be united. If the committee breasts the opposition of obstructionists, it will work toward the presentation of one Bill and unite on its advancement.

In regard to a parade, this year the parade of May 6th was under the auspices of the Women's Political Union, the College League and the Woman Suffrage Party, each represented officially on the central committee; each bearing its share of responsibility and each having voice in the perfection of plans, and although the Women's Political Union perhaps bore more of the general expense than did the other two organizations, the Woman Suffrage Party followed a close second in its work for the occupational groups and for the district divisions. Other organizations contributed their share to the success of the parade as a whole, by generously entering into the plans formulated by these three organizations, but the thought uppermost in many minds after the parade was that another year the parade should be made even more democratic and representative—that is, as the support of all organizations is essential to success, then all should share in the councils where plans are decided and responsibilities are assigned or assumed. In this spirit, and in recognition of the democratic principle of equal representation for which we all stand, the co-operative committee at its meeting on September 25th decided to invite all suffrage organizations represented in the city to join in a great union parade that should be made the greatest public demonstration suffragists in this country have ever undertaken. The committee also voted its approval of a night parade for three reasons: 1st, Our great army of working men and women will be free at night; 2nd, If held on Saturday (and this is generally accepted as the best day of the week) thousands of our members will be prevented from marching because the seventh day of the week is their Sabbath; if held at night this objection is removed; 3rd, The wonderful possibilities of power and charm which the night offers. Some do not approve of the date set; some do not like the idea of a night demonstration. If not, why not? It is splendid to know that our workers are interested enough to care about the details. It would be still better to have their suggestions as to what is best. The ideal parade will be the one where no good idea shall be discarded, where all, each through his organization, can give to all the benefit of his thought. Send in your suggestions. There should be steady improvement in all departments of our work each year.

For the benefit of Party members in whose minds the very simple parade situation seems

confused because they are not in possession of all the facts, we should state that an invitation was received from the Women's Political Union by the Party on September 27th asking the Party to organize a division in a parade to be given under the auspices of the Women's Political Union in the Spring, no date being stated. This was received two days after the co-operative committee had voted on the great union parade and must have been in the mail at the same time as the letter from the co-operative committee to the Women's Political Union, which announced the intention of the committee to arrange a parade on either May 25th or 26th, and invited that organization to unite with the other organizations. That the Women's Political Union is not represented on the co-operative committee is explained by the fact that the representative of the Women's Political Union invited to the co-operative conference did not wish to bind her organization to a general co-operative plan of work, and withdrew when the representatives of the six other organizations expressed their willingness to unite on matters of general public concern. No criticism of such withdrawal is implied in this statement, as we must recognize the right of all organizations to stand for the principle of union or non-union as they interpret it to be wise or unwise for their own interests and the interest of the common cause. The statement of this fact is only made, therefore, that there be no misunderstanding.

As the Woman Suffrage Party, however, has always stood for the broad idea of co-operation for the good of our great common cause; had endorsed the work of the committee and was pledged to enter a union parade, it was voted with regret that it was impossible, because impracticable, for the Party, as an organization, to enter a second parade—even though it would undoubtedly be the pleasure of many of our members to accept the invitation.

It is hoped that this statement of facts will make clear the parade situation and at the same time give suffragists throughout the State some idea of what the organization leaders hope to accomplish through co-operation. Whether or not we shall be able to accomplish all that we hope, will depend largely upon the support given by members. Shall we not present a united front to the common enemy in all matters where it is possible, both at home and in Albany? Can we not sink individual and organization pride and unite for the great common cause? A representative co-operative committee presents an ideal way of accomplishing this end. Let us support it. It would be much less trouble for the officers of our various organizations to work independently. It is easiest to go the way of the least resistance. It is comfortable not to be forced to stand for a principle; but are not suffragists now ready to thus stand.

E. J. N. PENFIELD.

TWO PROCESSIONS.

By Bertha Johnston.

Oh, 'tis quite the proper thing on Easter Sunday
  To promenade the pavement on parade—
In stream that swells like tide on Bay of Fundy
  Made beautiful by powder, paint, pomade—
By emphasizing bust and waist and ankle,
  To rouse in woman envy, love in man—
To stir the passions mean, that hurt and rankle,
  Tho' to do it one must hobble—if one can—

But to walk adown the street in calm procession,
  Sinking self in sacrifice to an ideal,
In dignity and quiet self-possession,
  To justice making steady, brave appeal—
To ask that one may share in civic duty,
  May help our brother man his burdens bear,
May add to city's goodness, health and beauty
  In civic rights and privileges share—

Oh, that is preposterous!
Shocking!
Unheard of!
Bold!
Disgraceful!
Brazen!
Unwomanly!
Indelicate!
Unnecessary!
Absurd!
Ad infinitum!!!

(*Continued from Page* 3)

had to speak to *women* voters as well as to men in the State of Washington. We shall keep our Western sisters informed of the treatment which that of the Labor Clarion of San Francisco. we receive from the politicians here. We gave our help to them in their fight for the vote.

We now warn the Democratic and Republican politicians of New York that women must be reckoned with not only on account of their "indirect influence" but also on account of the *ballots* which the Western sisters hold in their hands.

California was more than a Moscow for the politicians. It was the first charge in the last grand Waterloo, which is to overwhelm Marshall Barnes, Marshall Murphy, and Marshall Woodruff in this commonwealth.

All hail to California!
All hail to the great day!

The Woman Voter

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF AND PUBLISHED BY

THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY

A Union for political work of existing Equal Suffrage organizations in the City of New York

Mrs. MARY R. BEARD, Editor

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The organ of the antis in Massachusetts solemnly informs us that the suffrage is not a natural right but a gift of the State, and that it is incumbent therefore upon the women to show that the conferring of the right to vote upon them would be for the good of the State. This is an ancient argument. We will not answer it by saying that when the common man was fighting for the suffrage the world over he was vociferous over his "natural rights" and having an illogical feminine mind women accepted the doctrines of the men that the right to vote is a natural right. After the men got the suffrage and overthrew the power of kings their logic choppers found that after all there were no such things as natural rights at all. Because the men were mistaken therefore, they ought to have the vote taken away from them. As to the other argument that it is incumbent upon the women to show that the State will receive no injury. The answer is made by the commonwealths that have already conferred the suffrage upon women. After all what is the "good" of the State in the concrete? The king was once the State, but it was not for the good of the State that the power of government was vested in the common men. It was more for the good of the common men who made up the State after they were enfranchised. They were able to decide for themselves what was the good of the State. Why not give women the same chance? Why demand of them conditions precedent to enfranchisement which were never demanded of the men who have been enfranchised?

In contradistinction to the attitude of most political and labor papers toward women, stands that of the *Labor Clarion,* of San Francisco. It contains no mushy sentimentality, recipes, or fashion notes, but prints good strong articles for women with the object of making them forceful as individuals and helpful as companions of men. On another page we reprint an article which illustrates the policy of the *Labor Clarion.*

We have observed this week several of the leading "antis" flitting about from place to place to lecture to other women opposed to equal suffrage on "Why Women Should Stay at Home."

There is one point we want to drive home again and again, namely, that *the enforcement of law is as important as the making of law,* and enforcement requires political control, even as the making of law requires political power.

Noble women opposed to equal suffrage met together last week in New York to discuss civic reform and, by indirect influence, to uplift the community life. After reports from various investigators, they decided to concentrate effort this Winter on an increase of the police force. We noticed a sardonic smile on the faces of policemen whom even Commissioner Bingham found himself powerless to control, owing to their direct political power.

Anti-suffragists say women do not want to vote but merely to influence men. Evidently they failed to influence the men of California. The men, according to their logic, must have forced the suffrage on unwilling women?

Those splendid individuals who chivalrously care for the weaker sex and protect them from the sordidness of wide human contact, have long puzzled their brains over the most-needed legislation for women. Finally the Board of Aldermen hit upon a want. It was proposed that no women be allowed to smoke cigarettes in public. It is all right for them to sit and walk in clouds of smoke from men's cigars, pipes and cigarettes, but they must never try the naughty weed themselves, for the sake of their own virtue.

Theodore Roosevelt was billed to speak in Carnegie Hall last Friday night on the Conservation of Motherhood and Childhood. The hall was packed and the front row of platform seats was filled with prominent *men* presumably keen on this, one question. Mr. Roosevelt unfortunately, forgot his subject and wandered away as only women are supposed to do. Or did he intend to include women when he said more power must be given to the people and less to the courts? We women should have asked that night. It was the womanly thing to do and we were cowards all.

We call the attention of our readers to the note from the *Times-Union*, of Albany on page 17. We trust it will sink deeply into every mind and heart that Albany men prefer chorus girls to suffragists.

One of the pleasant diversions of the Republicans and Democrats in this State is the periodical "investigation" of each other's conduct by legislative committees. The Republicans have made telling use of the investigation here in New York City at the proper psychological moment to discredit the local Democratic organization. Now the Democratic legislature is paying back the old score by investigating Albany, the stronghold of Mr. William Honorarium Barnes, leader of the Republican Party in this State. The investigation had not gone far before it revealed the same relation between vice and politics in Albany which has been revealed in New York City by the Lexow and Maxet investigations. Even beer cannot be sold in the Albany dives without the approval of the proper political authorities—the chivalrous politicians who are afraid the "evil" women "might" vote if equal suffrage were established. Later, when the official reports of the Albany inquiry are printed we shall have something to say about Albany politics. There was a time when women were expected to sit at home, and in darkness, but when they were taught to read and write, the first disastrous step was taken toward their doing some thinking and acting on their own account.

Great enthusiasm is being manifested over the proposed display of Votes for Women flags on Election Day. A thousand of the pretty 25-cent pennants were ordered of our flag man, and they are so nearly gone that we have ordered more. The flags must be hung out from your front door or window at exactly eight o'clock in the morning of Election Day, and should fly all day to tell the world of the patriotism which pulses in the hearts of our women. Fly Old Glory, too, if you want to, since we love it so well, side by side with Votes for Women. Try to get as many flags up on your block as you can. They can be bought at headquarters, and they are also on sale at the same price at the stores of Wanamaker, Bloomingdale, Abraham & Straus and Frederick Loeser & Co.

M. W. S.

We congratulate the teachers on their splendid victory with regard to equal pay. That is the first step in their mental progression. The two succeeding ones are to secure political power with which to enforce the law and second, to extend the principle to industrial women.

AN APPEAL TO THE READER.

There is room for all kinds of work in the suffrage movement. One of the kinds is the steady and persistent bombardment of the individual by suffrage literature. Without underestimating the other forms of activity it seems to us that there is nothing more important now than the strengthening of *The Woman Voter*, the official organ of the Party, and the extension of the circulation into the tens of thousands. Every issue contains good suffrage articles by representative thinkers in the movement and a survey of the advance of the cause the world over.

There are thousands of men and women just interested casually in equal suffrage. All of these near-supporters should be reached periodically by new literature, and by news of the great work which invites their assistance. The obvious thing to do is to see that these thousands are on the subscription list of *The Woman Voter*. Those who want to make converts without "leaving the home" may quietly make up a list of friends who need enlightenment and send in the subscriptions. By this simple act the friends will receive *The Woman Voter* every month, rain or shine, to remind them of the new ideal that calls upon them for help.

Again, the vitality of the suffrage movement is largely judged by its literature and particularly the character of its journals. A movement that can support a big magazine will command more respect from those who now regard our labors with contempt.

During the last few weeks the subscription list of *The Woman Voter* has been steadily increasing, but for every score of subscribers we ought to have a thousand. Our advertising, as has been apparent, has increased; but we must have more in order to improve the quality of the magazine in every department. Moreover, we must convince our advertisers that "it pays" to use the columns of *The Woman Voter*.

We ought to have support enough to warrant the employment of a regular advertising and business manager and a circulation manager.

Is *The Woman Voter* to grow into a big and powerful organ for woman suffrage or is it to struggle along handicapped by want of support? We are trying to show what can be done with a small income. Will you give us a chance to reach tens of thousands instead of thousands?

This is directed to you, Gentle Reader.

The Assembly District news in this issue by no means represents the amount of activity in the various districts. Leaders are often too busy to send in their reports. We hope, however, to have a bulletin of meetings, at least, by next month.

THE HOME IN POLITICS

By Dr. George Wright

The minds of men differ considerably from those of women, both in their point of view, and especially in the subjects in which they are most interested.

Consider the case of the average normal family, in which the husband spends most of his thought and time away from home at some work or business, earning money to support the household while the wife spends most of her time and thought caring for the home and children. There are, of course, many exceptions to this rule, but it is the most usual and normal arrangement. Inevitably the man becomes more interested in business than does his wife; he understands business and knows its needs better than she does; while the woman spends more thought on the home and children, and understands their needs better than does the husband. This does not imply that the man loves his children any less than his wife does, but he spends less thought planning for their daily and hourly needs. If one wished to know how to transform water power into electrical energy he would get the information from a man; but if he wanted to know how to give the baby a bath he would ask a woman.

Now, the laws under which we live and the manner of their enforcement affect profoundly both business and the home. If men only have the suffrage, the legislators who make the laws, and the officials who enforce them, represent only the men, and therefore the interests of business are considered before those of the home. The obvious way to secure proper consideration for the home point of view is to give the same voting privilege to the women as to the men, that our legislators and officials may be as responsible to the home-makers as they are to the business men.

Sometimes the real or supposed interests of business appear to conflict with the interests of the home, and in such a case the home and children ought to have a hearing commensurate with their importance.

The city of Seattle, Wash., has recently furnished an excellent illustration of this conflict, and of the results of Male suffrage and of Universal suffrage. Seattle is the largest city on our Pacific Coast excepting San Francisco, and is the natural port for communication with Alaska.

Now thousands of miners flock to Alaska during the warmer part of the year, and many of them are successful in obtaining large amounts of gold. Millions of dollars are brought to the United States when the approach of the arctic Winter makes mining no longer possible. These miners are notorious spendthrifts, and many of them are fond of riotous living and debauchery. If Seattle could offer the attractions they desired, they would spend their money there; if not, the more freehanded of them would go to San Francisco, a city after their own hearts. Millions of dollars could therefore be brought to Seattle by catering to the wishes of these miners. Accordingly the business men of the city got together and elected a "liberal" mayor who ran a "wide open" town. This, as expected, brought in the miners, and with them great sums of money, thereby helping business; while, of course, the drunkenness, gambling, and prostitution brought ruin to hundreds of homes in Seattle and elsewhere. Soon afterwards the State of Washington conferred the suffrage upon women. The laws of Washington permit the "recall," whereby, on petition of a certain proportion of the voters, another election may be held at any time to decide whether the same officials shall continue in office, or whether others shall be elected to take their places.

As soon as the women secured the right to vote they recalled the Mayor of Seattle, and substituted a man of sterling character pledged to enforce the laws against vice. In this election most of the business men of the city "lined up" behind their former choice for Mayor, but the women as strongly supported the more law-abiding candidate, and he was elected by a narrow plurality. Both sides declared that it was the women's votes that turned the balance. If California confers the vote upon its women we shall probably see a similar housecleaning in San Francisco.

We are at a critical stage of human history. Grave problems confront us, problems which we must solve soon if our democratic civilization is to endure, and whose solution will require the united wisdom of mankind. Our stupendous future must have no narrow or one-sided foundation; it must be broadly based on equal justice, natural right and the best opinion of the whole human race.

If it be true, as some assert, that a full half of humanity is not, and cannot become, fit for a share in government, democracy is, of course, predestined to failure; but there is not the slightest evidence of this.

It is claimed that the men represent the women, but with the best intentions in the world this would often be impossible, for women's minds run in such different channels from ours that no man can predict with certainty what view they will take of a subject. Moreover, the man with a family of grown daughters has no more votes

(*Continued on page 26*)

LESSONS IN GOVERNMENT

III.

If a man and woman get married to-day in the State of New York, and they each put in the same amount, and buy a factory which is commonly called "home"—by far the most vital and important industrial and manufacturing institution that man has ever discovered—and they agree to divide the work of the factory, that they don't actually perform together, between them, she acting as the "inside" man and he as the "outside" man; and both do their work equally well, our law gives the title to the whole of the property and all of the earnings netted from their joint enterprise to him. She gets none of it.

The world is much interested in this industrial institution. Ordinary factories are insignificant compared with it. Their output, though great, is small, even in money value, in comparison with its output. By far the greatest part of the world's wealth is created in these home factories, under the supervision, if not by the actual labor, of the inside workman. If they should all close down, making it necessary to buy elsewhere what we now get there, most incomes would prove insufficient, the "outside" workmen would rapidly deteriorate in capacity and equality, the productive, i. e., money-making power, of society would speedily diminish, and untold misery would result to the human race. Besides, much necessary work can only be accomplished for society by this co-operative home factory arrangement. Not only must goods be made, bought, sold and delivered, but the labor market must be kept well supplied with strong hands for both inside and outside work. Working independently woman couldn't do her part. Working independently man couldn't do his part. They must co-operate. It is their joint, co-operative efforts that produce the result.

Yet, while the law recognizes his work, it doesn't notice hers when it comes to dispose of the title to the family earnings. She's allowed nothing on the ground that she contributed as much as he to set up the factory; nothing, on the ground that she does half the work; nothing, on the score that her work is indispensable, that without it the factory would have to close down. She has no title to, or control over the fund at all. She can't spend a cent of it without asking his permission, so long as he clothes and feeds her. He can give her what he likes of it, or nothing, if he pleases. She is entitled to no part to do with as she wishes, to spend according to her own judgment. The law gives her none of this fund.

He gets it all—every cent.

Of course, her work on the inside is just as vital, as important, of as much money worth, as his on the outside. For him to be able to do his work on the outside, indeed, her work must be well done on the inside—the food cooked to sustain him, clothes cared for to warm him and preserve his muscles, the house kept fit to shelter and rest tired limbs and racked nerves. Her work on the inside must be fairly well done, or the outside worker can't work.

She may do her work better than he does his. Besides, man's hours of toil are limited. "Woman's work is never done." This makes no difference.

He gets it all.

It often happens that she does her work so efficiently that all that comes in from the outside is not consumed on the inside; that, by her saving, thrift, economy, thoughtfulness, self-sacrifice, devotion, constant and tireless industry, all of it does not have to be spent to buy new tools (pans, pots, knives, forks, bedding, etc.) and new materials (meat, vegetables, cloth, etc.) for use and consumption in this factory. Then, there is a surplus (savings) that is often put at interest in the savings bank. But, it makes no difference how much she did to produce this fund.

He gets it all—every cent.

It may be, indeed, usually is so, that, chiefly, she, by her worthy work, has made this saving possible. That makes no difference.

He gets it all. This is the law.

Generally, her labors are complicated and many fold increased by the production of new laborers, designed to carry on the work in the future, either on the inside or outside, and the training and fitting of them for their coming duties. How very, very important this is! What a blight it would be if society should be left without workers! Who can possibly estimate the value of these services in dollars and cents? So far are they above price, that since last man was sold in slavery no person has dared ever to try to estimate the value of the mother's services in this behalf in money terms! But, no matter how well she does all this work—with what sacrifice, or suffering! The law is just the same.

He gets all.

"But," man demands: Don't we have anything to do with this rearing and training the children and all that? Is she to have the whole credit? Don't we *help?*"

Oh, yes; you help. Your work on the outside helps her on the inside, just as hers on the inside helps you on the outside. If, to all these earnings and this accumulation, the law gave you title in just the proportion that you do *actually*

help, nobody would complain. When, however, you *only* help, why should you get title to all?

The husband is entitled to the whole of his own earnings, and, also, to the whole of her time, labor and society. He gets his; he gets hers. This is the law to-day.

Delightful arrangement, isn't it—for him.

Men made this law. When men make laws they think of their own interests first. It is the ballot that empowers them to do this.

Does not this show how the right to vote is a property right; and how men use it in their own interest at the expense of women?

Very often, usually, I believe, even in this prosperous country, the young workers, growing strong, go forth, while yet under 21, to work on the outside, to increase the family earnings from that source. This is necessary because the father is unable, without aid, to keep the home factory properly supplied with tools and materials. That is: his work on the outside has been more or less a failure. Here, then, certainly is an accumulation to which he is not entitled. At any rate, after the young workers have paid to the homekeepers a fair sum for their keep, the balance (if any) is something he has no right to. The mother has no right to any of it. The law gives her none. It deals differently with him. "The father is entitled to the whole of the earnings of his minor children," says the law.

He gets it all.

To be sure, I know what a man will say: "I support my wife and children; and they are entitled to demand support of me." You're mistaken. This is all fiction. The work on the inside, sir, is just as important as the work on the outside, and has just as much money value. You don't support her, any more than she supports you. And, she does as much in support of the children, sir, as you do.

I protest against this bigoted fallacy that woman's work, though confined to the home, does not possess a money value.

I know that for many generations such idea seems to have captivated the mind of man. He was more just to his horse. He could and does see how the work of the horse did and does enable him to make money. Isn't it possible that, after all, he (in point of fact) saw all along the economic value of his wife's labor in the home? Can it be possible that he didn't share the family earnings with her for the same reason he didn't share with the horse?

Think this over, please.

Why, should not the wife, contributing her share of patient toil and maternal suffering, have as much interest in and authority over the earned family fund (for it is a product of co-operation) as the husband? The fact that she has not visited untold misfortune and suffering on society. Just how, we shall see when we come to examine the frivolity of superficial attempts apparently to correct the evils thus entailed—alimony rules, dower, domestic court orders, distribution laws, etc.

For the present, it is enough to remember the principle, viz.: "He gets it all."

By law, made by him and for him, he gets it all while he lives; and, when he dies, she surviving, when, so far as he is concerned the whole of it might as well be thrown in the gutter, then, even then, *she* doesn't get it—but this is another story that we will take up later.

(*To be continued.*)

THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT.

(With Apologies to Madame Sherry.)

Every little movement
Has a meaning
All its own.
Every Anti's feeling
By her wobbling
May be known.
And every near-thought
That comes a-stealing
O'er her being
Goes on revealing
All her weakness,
With an appealing
Little pathos
All—all its own!

Anonymous.

THE AFFINITY OF THE SPIRIT.

(*Continued from page 15*)

pain of his clasp keeping her from a complete collapse to her emotions.

Without another word he left her, and Jane, alone with her sorrow knew only that in the depths of it now lay a poignant sweetness which made it both harder and easier to bear. Robert loved her!

She remembered the time she had been sure of that once before and she knew now that she had been right even then.

"No one can ever take that away from me," she said to herself, passionately, and with this thought a gleam of happiness stole hopefully into her aching heart.

AN INTERVIEW WITH MARY AUSTIN

By Mary Holland Kinkaid

Many a quiescent suffragist has been forced into the arena of tireless battle by the "antis," and, among the numerous stories of how certain women have become militant champions of political equality, none is more interesting than that which concerns Mary Austin, novelist and playwright. Mrs. Humphry Ward, who is a leader among the reactionists of her own country, is really responsible for Mrs. Austin's alliance with the enthusiastic workers for suffrage.

After a brief tour through a small part of the United States, several years ago, Mrs. Ward began to tell what shocking things she had found out about Americans in general and American women in particular. It happened that Mrs. Austin was passing the season in London, and, everywhere she went, she met persons who inquired about something "most extraordinary" that they had heard concerning the people of the United States. Naturally Mrs. Austin defended her countrywomen and she did it so effectively that before she was aware of her growing importance among the progressives she found herself aligned with the suffragists.

Mrs. Austin had gone to Europe to rest and she had been cordially welcomed by authors, scholars and scientists, who had accorded her honors that come to the few who attain distinction in literary work, for "The Land of Little Rain," "The Flock" and "Lost Borders" had been acclaimed as classics and her knowledge of Indian lore and Indian life had won attention from the most learned anthropologists. She had dwelt and worked far from the great centers of population—out on the American desert—and she had never had the opportunity to ally herself with the suffragists, even though she had protested against injustices to women ever since she first began to think. She had gone abroad to recover from overwork. She had not meant to become identified with any of the strenuous movements for reform—at least, not until after her holiday—but before she had time to realize that she was assuming responsibilities that would absorb all her leisure she was speaking and writing for the suffragists. On the day of the memorable demonstration in which ten thousand women marched through the streets of London, she found herself in the ranks. There was no longer any hope of resting. The spirit of her ancestors who had fought for liberty flamed in her; she became a suffragist of the most valiant type—a suffragist glad to give prodigally of her splendid talents.

The evolution of this distinguished suffragist is of most unusual interest. Mary Austin was a young girl when she went West in search of health and with her mother and brothers found a new home on what was then the frontier, where Indians were near neighbors. She had been graduated from a university and she was by inclination, as well as by training, an earnest student. In the strange land of sunlit skies and dazzling sandy wastes, of green oases and guardian mountain ranges, she developed the great gift of writing, for on virgin soil, where the isolated soul has opportunity to come into a realization of its kinship to nature, poets are born.

Pioneer life developes many-sided characters, and the girl, who found in the vastness of the shining desert, the beauty of the strange vegetation and the silences of the starlit nights inspiration that made possible a steady growth toward future achievement, was ever faithful to the practical duties that belonged to home-making in a remote settlement. She made friends with the Indians and by many a kindly act gained their confidence and laid the foundations of future knowledge of the ways of the aborigines, which are so little understood by the white man.

When she was about twenty she was married and her home was established in Independence, California, where her husband was register of the United States land office. The district over which Mr. Austin had jurisdiction included the regions of California and Nevada in which the Mojave desert and Death Valley are situated, and thus fate kept the author of "The Land of Little Rain," year after year, where she could study every change of sky and every shifting color of mountain and plain. For recreation Mr. and Mrs. Austin went on long camping trips in the desert or climbed the mountain trails. While Mr. Austin, who is an enthusiastic botanist, searched for rare plants, Mrs. Austin sketched or made notes to be used in her literary work. In the long days at home Mrs. Austin went back to the study of the Indian and particularly of the Indian woman. Slowly and patiently she gathered information that in time gave her authoritative knowledge. How she came to learn so much of the inner life of the primitive people is best told in her own words. It was after she had spoken at a suffrage meeting that she talked of her experiences with the Indians. She said:

"In the study of Indian life from the scientific works sent out by the Bureau of Ethnology, I realize that the books were written by men about men and that the primitive woman was neglected. The Indian woman had not been studied as a

woman—only as an Indian. I was interested in the Indians' outlook on life. I wanted to get at their hearts. I did not care so much for their rites and strange observances as for how they felt about their wierd ceremonies. It was four years before I could get to a place where they would tell me anything about their religion. It was not until I could touch the human side that it was possible to gain any insight.

"I had Indian servants. One source of information was through letters sent by the children who were being educated at the government schools. Their mothers could not read or write and the women appealed to me to interpret the letters and to send the answers. Sometimes my services were solicited by young folk for whom I wrote love letters.

"In probing the hearts and understanding the lives of primitive women I came to see the lives of all women in perspective. By the natural logic of living I became a suffragist. In frontier life woman bears her part of all the burdens and she is treated as a partner in other things as well as in the hardships of existence far from civilized conveniences. More and more, as responsibilities came to me and as I did my share in the home which we had made on the edge of the desert, I became an advocate of woman suffrage. Then when I came into the cities and saw the terrible economic struggles my feeling concerning the importance of the enfranchisement of women was intensified.

"I feel that the gaining of the ballot is not the final victory for women, but merely the preliminary to woman's great struggle for the right to be a human being instead of a female. The essential thing that women have to fight for is the right to fair treatment, because it is fair and not because they are pleasing to men. Every year I realize more fully that women are wronged—that they are the victims of an unconscious conspiracy."

Mrs. Austin, who came back to this country last year to superintend the production of her play, "The Arrowmaker," at the New Theatre, will pass this Winter in New York. She still calls California "home," but she is engaged on a new play and is finishing a novel, and her work will detain her in the East for a number of months.

Frances G. Ecob, one of our Party organizers last winter was asked to write a series of articles on Suffrage in *Nurses'* magazine. The quarterly magazine published by the Alumnae Association of the Presbyterian Hospital Training School for Nurses of New York, printed the first of her articles last January, which was reprinted in the *Nurses' Journal* of the Pacific Coast, for April, and followed by a second contribution in July.

THE ETERNAL DUEL.

The other day, at the crossing of Columbus Avenue and Ninety-seventh Street, there came along a heavy wagon drawn by big draught horses. Perched on a high seat sat the driver, urging forward his team.

Below, over the crossing, a buxom woman was hastening to her marketing and pushing her baby in a go-cart.

The driver rose in his seat and with great surging of body reined in his horses—just in time to escape wrecking the baby cart.

"You're just like all women," he yelled, in purple rage at the young mother.

She seemed to think the attack hardly worth answer, but after a second's pause, lifting her tired face straight toward the angry driver, her arms almost circling the cart and its precious freight, she shrieked: "Ye're just like all men."

They went their ways, and things returned to the common level.

KATE STEPHENS.

(*Continued from page 22*)

than a bachelor, so that evidently no representative principle is contemplated.

It is said that almost any woman can influence at least one vote if she wishes. But which vote? It must be the vote of some man. Now if the man votes in accordance with his own ideas the woman is in no way represented, whether she approves of his vote or not; her wishes have not influenced the result. If, on the other hand, he votes contrary to his convictions because "the woman beguiled him" he is unfit for the suffrage. Why should that woman vote through a dummy? She ought to cast her ballot herself.

A million widows are supporting their families by unremitting toil, living in hardship which is often made worse by the laws. Whose votes can they influence? One of them finds that the saloon next door is demoralizing her children, and next month the voters will decide whether that saloon shall be closed or not. Is she to leave her washtub or her needle and sally forth to play the charmer to some man, to induce him to change his vote in her interest? Because forsooth it would take too much time from her household duties to go to the polls herself. The thing is too absurd to discuss.

And how of the unattractive women, or the elderly, or the invalids? Have they no right to be heard? Is nothing to count except the ability to cajole the other sex?

What would we men do if we were placed in that position? I don't know exactly, but I wager we would do something else than just be charming.

New Milford, Connecticut.

THE WAGE EARNERS' LEAGUE FOR SUFFRAGE

At last the working women of New York are "on the job" too. A Wage-Earners League has been formed as a result of the Woman Suffrage Party's work and a good attendance of working women is expected at the meeting on October 30, at 8 P. M., at our headquarters.

Miss Leonora O'Reilly is temporary president and Mrs. Florence Kelley has expressed her willingness to speak and work for the League. Miss Elizabeth Freeman is devoting her splendid talents to helping the wage-earners start their organization.

We feel that our readers therefore will be interested in the following article by Maude Younger, who organized the wonderful Wage-Earners League for Suffrage on the Pacific Coast.

WHY THE BALLOT IS NEEDED BY WOMEN.

By Maude Younger—from the *Labor Clarion* of San Francisco.

There are a large number of women in California who would like to stay at home. Yet each day they must go out into the world to battle for their bread and butter. Many of these women are married. Many a one in going forth each morning leaves behind her children, parents or others, whom she must support. Many a one cannot even leave behind her children because she has no one with whom to leave them. She must put them in an institution and never see them from Sunday to Sunday.

This condition has come about, not through any desire on the part of the women, but through the invention of machinery which has taken all the work women once did at home and removed it to the factory, and women have been forced to leave home and work or stay home and starve.

So to-day, in America alone, we find seven million women are self-supporting. We find these women bearing the heavier burdens of industry. We find them working for longer hours and for lower wages than men. We find them representing cheap labor and menacing the higher standards of the union movement. Why? Because they have not the same sources of strength as have men.

A woman in the industrial world is there not as wife, mother or home maker, but as wage earner. As such she has but the same sources of strength as have other wage earners—the union, and the ballot.

The union is the more important, but with women it is more difficult to achieve. Most girls expect to marry some day, and give up work. They do not seek to better their craft. It is to them but a temporary affair to tide them over to the golden shores of matrimony. They do not realize how many married women are inevitably swept back into the channels of industry.

One needs but look through the ranks of the organized women of San Francisco to realize the number of married women who earn their living. No man can tell when, through accident, or misfortune, his own wife or daughter may be thrown out into the whirlpool of work, to swim or sink.

Even in California, where conditions are comparatively good, we find that of all our young women, one in three is a breadwinner.

The conditions under which these women work concern the entire community. Working women are largely the mothers of the race. Their health determines the vitality of the next generation. Their health depends chiefly upon the conditions under which they work.

A woman should not work long hours nor at night. Her place of work should be sanitary, with protection for life and limb. Yet to-day, when the development of business seems almost more important than the development of men, good conditions for working women rest solely upon their own power to secure and maintain them.

Since it is more difficult to secure good conditions for women through organization, then it is even more essential that they should be protected through the ballot.

We know the ballot is a protection. We see what it has done for men. In State after State we find eight-hour laws for men, in mines, smelters, on public works. But the only eight-hour laws for women, outside of California, are found in States where women vote.

Even when men pass the needed laws, they are usually ineffective, for the enforcement of a law rests with those who are most concerned. The greatest power over the officials whose duty it is to enforce a law, is the power of the ballot.

In New York, for instance, the ten-hour law for women was always a dead letter. It took years to arouse the public to get it enacted, because women had to work by the round-about method of influence, instead of by the direct method of vote. Then, once enacted, the public, which was not concerned, went on about its own affairs, while the women, who were concerned, went on with their long hours of labor.

The law was never enforced, and after twelve years the only section which made it possible of enforcement was declared unconstitutional. So experience has taught us women that it is useless to get laws passed unless we have power over the

officials who enforce and the judges who interpret them.

To sum up: Working women need the ballot.

First, as a protection to the women themselves; second, as a protection to organized labor; third, as a protection to the community.

I end with the appeal of a working woman herself, a letter from a domestic working in a small town. She writes:

"We are the homeless ones. We spend our lives in other people's homes, cooking the food in other people's kitchens, sweeping and dusting in other people's parlors, and incidentally rocking the cradles of other people's children. Yet we, too, are human beings, and we, too, have our needs like other women.

"When they passed the eight-hour law they left us out. I don't suppose any Senator would think of including the so-called 'servant girl.' I wanted to write and ask for an amendment to put us in, but then I was afraid it might wreck the whole bill, and I wanted other working women to have that great happiness, even if we couldn't have it ourselves. So you see, we, too, have souls. But now, at last, we will have the power to help ourselves, for, thank God, we will be able to vote. The despised 'servant girl' will also be a citizen.

"I want to do something to help swell the war chest, for I know it costs money to carry on a campaign. I have no watch or jewelry, but I am sending you two handkerchiefs and a needle case. It was a Christmas present. Perhaps you can sell them for a few dimes. It is not much to send, but it is all I have.

"I want to feel that I, too, am doing something for the cause, and I hope and pray that on October 11th, when we read the morning papers, the women of this State may be able to say: 'Thank God for citizenship.'"

THE WORKING WOMEN.

After the Triangle Fire, a meeting of "Citizens" was called to discuss fire protection. At this meeting a young working woman declared that nothing worth while would be done by any class except those most vitally interested. The papers denounced her for her lack of appreciation of our distinguished public men. Six months have elapsed since that meeting in the Metropolitan Opera House. Nothing has been done except that Harris & Blanck have collected $200,000 fire insurance. Rose Schneidermann was right, girls—this is your work—yours.

DOES THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY APPRECIATE YOU?

Does it appreciate the money you have given, the time you have spent, and the service you have rendered?

No, it does not.

It does not, because it cannot.

The Woman Suffrage Party is very unappreciative, because the Woman Suffrage Party is *you,* together with a lot of other yous. It is the collective will of all its active members. Now, how can a collective will appreciate part of its own activity?

"Last month," you say, "I gave a dollar and got no credit."

But you did get warmth of heart.

"I arranged a meeting and received no thanks."

But you did gain wisdom and experience.

"I canvassed for a day and no one is grateful."

That day's work broadened your outlook.

"I worked an evening for an officer who never praised me."

And that officer probably worked one hundred evenings for you. Did you give her one hundred praises?

Our officers are not the Woman Suffrage Party. They are merely its largest contributors. They supply more vitality to our common body than you or I supply. Then should they appreciate us, or should we appreciate them?

We sometimes appear to believe that our officers are receiving large salaries, immense benefits, and enviable honor.

Their salary consists of the privilege of spending their own money on our work. Their benefit consists of sleepless nights and anxious days. As for honor—the Woman Suffrage Party is not yet historic. It does not bestow honors; it demands sacrifices.

An office in the Woman Suffrage Party means an opportunity for hard work. It is not by accident that the hard workers—the women with the largest capacity for self-sacrifice—get the biggest offices.

By the way, these are the very women who never mention their need of appreciation. What do you make of that? Poor things, perhaps they are too busy to complain.

Let us make up our minds to it once and for all, this work of ours brings only one reward—the joy of service. If service brings you no joy, or if it brings you an insufficient joy, so that you still need appreciation or credit or praise or gratitude—then the work of Woman Suffrage is not for you. Better go back to crochet work.

MARIE JENNEY HOWE.

CHILDREN'S PAGE

THE ADVENTURES OF FIFE

By Edith Bailey

When Fife's mother was a little girl she had many lovely dolls. Among them was one, "Mademoiselle," who came from Paris and had trunks full of wonderful clothes. She would walk and talk, turn her head and say "Papa, mama!"

When Fife arrived she was not half so pretty or accomplished as "Mademoiselle." Fife's mother was disappointed. "Babies are not half as much fun as dollies," she said.

But Fife grew. She had brown eyes and brown curls. Each day she looked more like "Mademoiselle," and she, too, learned to walk and say "Papa, mama." Her dresses and ribbons were even more beautiful than "Mademoiselle's."

Every afternoon at five nurse took her down to the drawing room. Her pretty mother all dressed up, was always having a party. She would take Fife on her lap, twitch her ribbons, pat her cheek, and say "How is my dolly, today?" Fife would make a little curtsey, and, when she grew older, would recite verses about dew drops and birds and flowers. Mama and the ladies would clap, but presently they began to talk about other things, and nurse would take Fife upstairs and warn her—"Don't muss your pretty clothes." Sometimes Fife walked in the garden where she might not pick the flowers for fear of soiling her fingers, or drove out in the pony carriage, where she saw life darkly through a brown veil, or went to parties where she clapped the same trick man and ate colored ices. Otherwise, she passed her life very much like "Mademoiselle."

One day a funny thing happened. Nurse left Fife in the garden. The gate was open. Fife went out. She went down the long drive under the trees. The lodge gates were ajar and Fife stood alone on the broad highway. No one was in sight. Fife was afraid. She was just turning back when some one called "Hello." Then she saw a ragged boy lying on the grass. He had a freckled face and hair as white as thistle down.

He looked dirty and happy, and was chewing a straw.

Fife curtsied, "Good morning, I am very well, thank you," she said timidly.

The boy stared. "You look like a doll in a store window," he said. "Are you made of chiny?"

"Nurse says I'm made of sugar and spice, and all things nice," Fife answered.

"Does she say I'm made of snips and snails and puppy dogs' tails?" grinned the boy. "Say, do you want to go fishing? I've got some worms?"

"Would I get my dress mussed?" asked Fife.

"Sure," laughed the boy.

"I must not get my dress mussed," Fife repeated. But she took the boy's hand and went fishing just the same.

She had such a good time that she forgot all about mother and nurse and her clothes, till she fell into the water. Then she sat down and cried.

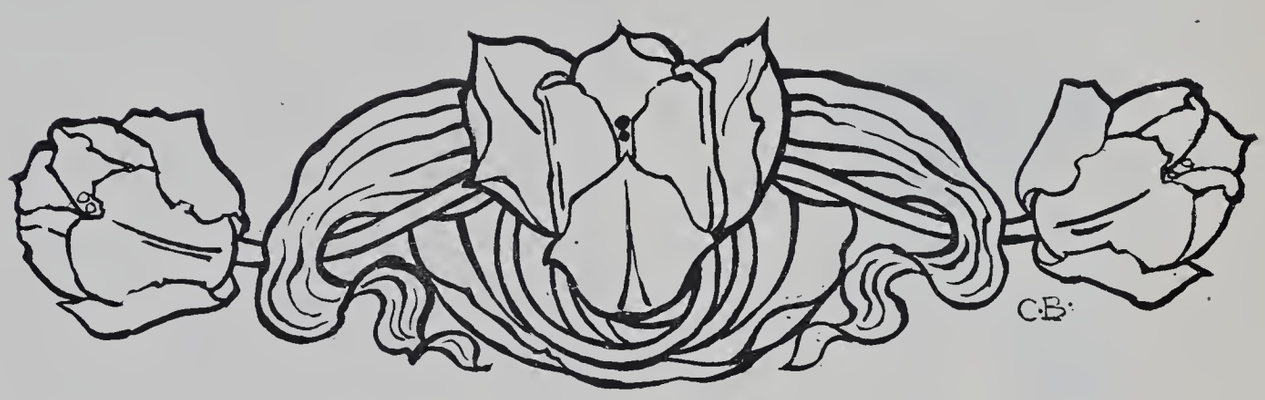
"What's the harm?" cried the boy. "Are you really a doll? Will the paint come off?"

"I'm afraid so," wailed Fife, "Mama calls me her dolly."

"You don't look like a doll any more," said the boy. "You look nice and dirty. If you stop crying I will give you the rest of my worms."

So Fife went home covered with mud and carrying a box of worms.

She went into the drawing room and every one screamed and her mother pushed her away. Nurse scolded her all the time she was bathing and dressing her and "Mademoiselle" seemed to be making faces at her.

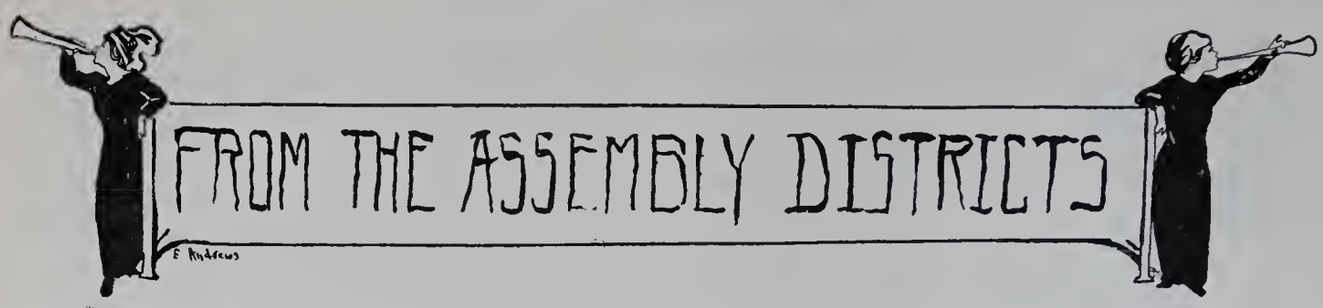


(*Continued from page 4*)

to the opposite extreme and told his choicest gems which had made roof beams crack with the roars of delighted hearers. He told the history of his party and unfolded with vivid eloquence the black record of the opposing party from its foundation to that night—but, without avail. The mysterious X remained unmoved. When, at length, the Senator saw that he was forced to close, he turned to his peroration designed to reach the general public and denounced the rascality of the opposing party who infested the offices of the State. Lifting his voice to its full pitch in conclusion he roared, "There has been no petty trick too dirty for them to engage in; there has been no chicanery at which they have stuck; public offices have been to them but so many opportunities to loot the public treasury; the rich man has been their solicitude, and the poor man the object of their scorn and contempt. Under their administration and the administration of their co-workers at Washington the burdens of the government have been placed upon the shoulders of those who are least able to bear them. They have taxed the woolen blanket in which the mother wraps her helpless babe; they have taxed the cup of coffee—the cheering cup of the poor man; they have taxed the plows of the farmers in the fields while the plutocratic railway corporations defy the laws and make no contributions to the public treasury worthy of the name. Why, gentlemen, they have even descended to lay a tax of two dollars upon the poor man's dog——"

In the midst of this last sentence the strange auditor jumped to his feet and lifted his clenched fists over his head and shouted, "Give 'em —, Senator, I've got six of them dogs and the durned dog tax takes half of my corn crop. I've been waiting all this campaign to hear somebody champeen the great right of the poor man to have an untaxed dog and this is the first time that I've heard it mentioned. You can count on my vote."

The Senator had reached his auditor.



Our women are beginning to realize the efficacy of team work. It was a thrilling evening on October 5th, when simultaneously between 250 and 300 Woman Suffrage Party Leaders, Captains and speakers were bombarding seventy Republican and Democratic conventions in Greater New York. The political parties appreciate the power of organization work and aside from the enormous amount of suffrage propaganda delivered in stirring speeches before thousands of politicians who would never have come to a suffrage meeting, the whole thing was an object lesson to the politicians in the ability of women to do the particular kind of routine political work which they have arrogated to themselves as their special province.

MANHATTAN

Miss Josephine Roche, the new Leader in the 5th Assembly District, was last year associated with Miss King in the Party work in that district so that she will be able to carry on the work very effectively, aided by Mrs. Simkhovitch's influence in that district where she and the splendid Greenwich House work are so much loved. Miss Roche is specially fitted for this suffrage work for which she is volunteering with so much enthusiasm because she is a former Colorado voter, a warm friend of Judge Ben Lindsey and a co-worker with him in the Children's Courts in Denver.

At the 15th A. D. convention 250 people were present. Mrs. Frederick Nathan was in the chair. Officers for the coming year are Mrs. Nathan, leader; Mrs. Wm. Grant Brown, treasurer, and Miss Martha Klatschken, secretary. Those who addressed us were Mr. Harry Phillips of London, Mrs. Austin, of California, and our 15th A. D. Democratic candidate, Mr. Ward, who declared himself in favor of woman suffrage. The Republican candidate, Mr. Crawford, sent his regrets, but as he did not state what his views on woman suffrage are, Mrs. Nathan stated that she would pursue him with a view to finding out how he stands on the subject. Punch and cake were served to those present. Our convention was a combination affair of formal opening of the house and tea room. Our tea room is very unique, Japanese lanterns, Japanese prints on the walls, Japanese tea things, fans, bells, portierres, etc. It is hoped that the leaders and workers in the Woman Suffrage Party will patronize it freely and they are urged to do so. Contributions were taken and altogether our convention from every point of view was highly successful.

Just now we are using every means in our power to boom our tea room. The tea room is in the Club House, at 120 West 81st Street. Every suffragist is urged to go herself and recommend friends to the Club House rooms.

MARTHA KLATCHKEN, Secretary.

Mrs. John Bolles, the present Secretary of the 23rd Assembly District Club, is a very valuable aid to the suffrage cause in that district. Her husband is the Alderman and she is well known and liked in the district. She will carry on the work of the district, which we are sorry to say, has been left by Mrs. Balch and Mrs. Saunders. As this devoted suffrage mother and daughter depart on their two years' trip abroad, we must express our appreciation of the fine work which they have done in the 23rd Assembly District.

The Stuyvesant Equal Suffrage Club will hold a meeting on October 23rd, at 8 P. M., in the Friends Seminary, 226 East 16th Street. Miss Elizabeth Freeman is to give a talk with the idea of an especial appeal to nurses. The 12th A. D. has ten hospitals in its boundaries, harboring at least three hundred nurses and a special effort is being made to reach these persons. The leader, Mrs. Gillette, reports a very enthusiastic district convention on October 2nd.

The 25th Assembly District will give a reception in honor of Mrs. Penfield and Mrs. Laidlaw at the home of Mrs. Elwyn Barron, 107 Waverly Place. The date of the reception will be the evening of November 10.

Arrangements are also being made for a meeting of the 25th Assembly District at the Madison Square Republican Club, 240 W. 14th Street, on the evening of November 11th. Mr. Frederic C. Howe, Mrs. Forbes Robertson Hale and others will speak.

All are invited to this meeting and to the reception for our city and borough chairmen.

At the convention of the 25th Assembly District, held October 10th, the following officers were elected:

Leader.....Mrs. Frederick C. Howe
Vice-Chairman.....Miss Esther Andrews
Secretary.....Mrs. Arthur Kellogg
Treasurer.....Mrs. H. R. Griffith

Mrs. Griffith reported 69 club members and $69 in the club treasury. The district membership is between six and seven hundred.

Mr. Artemas Ward, Jr., did not receive the Republican nomination for the 25th Assembly District this year. It is hoped that the new candidate, Mr. F. R. Stoddard, Jr., will, if elected, show more interest than did Mr. Ward in the submission to the people of the Woman Suffrage Amendment.

The Manhattan Borough Convention was held in the Auditorium of the Metropolitan Tower on October 18th and was a large and enthusiastic session. There was a noticeable quickening of response and alertness over last year's session, which speaks well for the growth of the borough work. Miss Elizabeth Freeman was the speaker of the day.

BRONX BOROUGH CONVENTION.

The Bronx Borough Convention convened October 16th, 8 P. M., in the North End Democratic Club Auditorium, for which courtesy we wish to acknowledge our appreciation.

For the first time since the organization of the Woman Suffrage Party every Borough was represented by a regularly elected assembly district Leader. The reports of the year's work made a splendid showing over last year. Much enthusiasm and determination to establish permanent headquarters in all the Boroughs was the slogan—the great need of the hour—as expressed by all the Leaders.

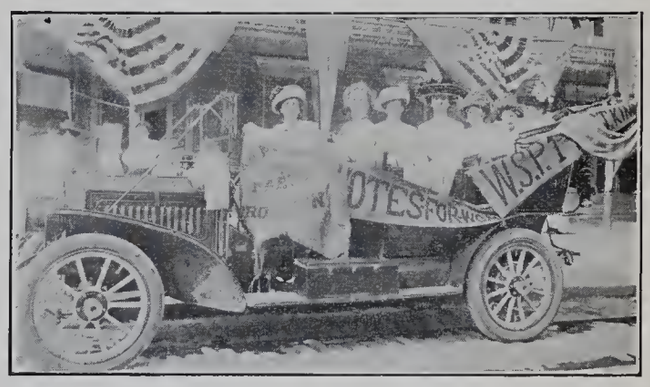
The Borough officers for the ensuing year were elected—Mrs. A. C. Fisk, Chairman; Mrs. de Bender York, Vice-Chairman; Rev. Irene Earl, Secretary; Miss Mary Oliver, Treasurer. Mrs. Secor Tonjes presided.

The Leaders of the five boroughs as elected are of 30th A. D., Miss Lonergan; 33rd A. D., Mrs. J. W. Klein; 32nd, Mrs. James T. Penfield; 34th, Mrs. Secor Tonjes; 35th, Mrs. Wm. Swan.

The Thirty-second Assembly District Convention met at the home of Mrs. James T. Penfield, East 243rd Street, Wakefield, on Saturday afternoon, October 14th, at 3 P. M. Owing to the change of residence of the Leader into the 34th District, Mrs. Penfield was elected Leader.

She is also Chairman of the Williamsbridge branch of the Woman Suffrage Party, a flourishing and enthusiastic body of men and women organized last Spring by the out-going Leader, Mrs. Secor Tonjes.

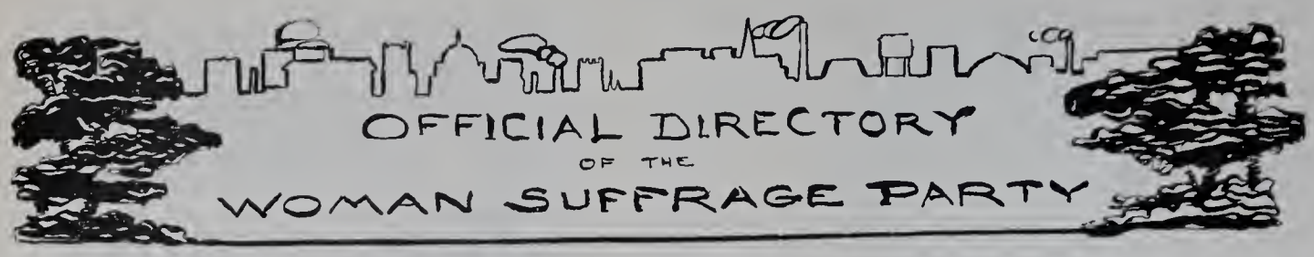
On Wednesday, August 23rd, the Ridgewood *Times* gave an outing at Greater New York Park in Glendale, L. I. Mrs. Gus Ruhlin, the leader of the 20th Assembly District of Brooklyn, was on the Committee of Arrangements for the day and secured a large space for the suffragists to decorate and work from. A small boy constituted himself a barker and cried out: "This way for the suffragettes!" and the people came by the hundreds and listened to what was said and over five hundred signed their names as believers. An automobile, gayly decorated with



yellow bunting and Votes for Women banners left the Brooklyn City Hall at two o'clock and carried Mrs. R. C. Talbot-Perkins, Miss Grace A. Raymond, Miss Amy Wren, Mrs. A. H. Merritt and Miss N. Stephenson to the Park where they worked all afternoon making converts for women's rights. Mrs. Ruhlin offered as a prize to the girl who obtained the most signatures a case of 27 pieces of silverware. This was won by Miss Frances Dore and the same was presented to her from the platform in the evening by Mrs. R. C. Talbot-Perkins in the presence of several thousand people.

All of the Brooklyn workers who attended this outing declare it the most unique affair they have ever attended and give great credit to Mrs. Ruhlin for the immense amount of work she did for the cause. The newspapers say that seventy-five thousand people attended the outing, and most of them were home people whom it would be very hard to reach except in a door to door canvass.

THE WOMAN VOTER appeals to the Assembly Districts to push subscriptions at once. Send to headquarters for sample copies and blanks. See that every enrolled member takes the paper.



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Assembly Dist. 2—Miss L. L. Dock, 265 Henry St.
Assembly Dist. 3—Miss Selina Swiss, 460 Grand St.
Assembly Dist. 4—Mrs. Rappaport, 288 E. Broadway.
Assembly Dist. 5—Miss Josephine Roche, 26 Jones St.
Assembly Dist. 6.—Mrs. J. Mittleman, 116 Columbia St.
Assembly Dist. 7—Miss Adele M. Woodward, 365 W. 23 St.
Assembly Dist. 8—Mrs. Ehrlich, 151 Ludlow St.
Assembly Dist. 9—Mrs. John Zimmerman, 534 Ninth Ave.
Assembly Dist. 10—Mrs. Harold Spielberg, 64 E. 7 St.
Assembly Dist. 11—Mrs. Katherine Quinn, 359 W. 47 St.
Assembly Dist. 12—Mrs. J. Frederick Gillette, 222 E. 17 St.
Assembly Dist. 13—Mrs. E. Butterworth, 939 Eighth Ave.
Assembly Dist. 14—Jeanette Rankin, 88 Madison Ave.
Assembly Dist. 15—Mrs. Frederick Nathan, 162 W. 86 St.
Assembly Dist. 16—Mrs. Hess, 515 Lexington Ave.
Assembly Dist. 17—Mrs. William Jas. Morton, 224 Riverside Dr.
Assembly Dist. 18—Mrs. James Gear, 301 E. 68 St.
Assembly Dist. 19—Mrs. Helen Hoy-Greeley, 2 Rector St.
Assembly Dist. 20—Mrs. Clara Buchold, 307 E. 78 St.
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Assembly Dist. 22—Dr. Bertha B. Huson, 237 E. 86 St.
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Assembly Dist. 24—Miss Beatrice Dunn, 66 E. 88 St.
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Vice-Ch'm, Mrs. de Bender York.
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Treasurer, Miss Mary E. Oliver, 3737 Willett Ave.

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Assembly Dist. 32—Mrs. J. T. Penfield, E. 243 St.
Assembly Dist 33—Mrs. J. W. Klein.
Assembly Dist. 34—Mrs. Helen Secor Tonjes, 2011 Mapes Ave.
Assembly Dist. 35—Mrs. William Swan, 2387 Grand Ave.

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Vice-Ch'm, Mrs. Grace G. Wolterbeek, 426 E 9 St.
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Assembly Dist. 2—Mrs. Katherine Jacobson, 115 Johnson St.
Assembly Dist. 3—Miss Sarah Meyer, 359 Clinton St.
Assembly Dist. 4—Mrs. Rose Brunner, 103 Wilson St.
Assembly Dist. 5—Miss Mildred Bennett, 964 Greene Ave.
Assembly Dist. 6—Dr. Anna Martin King, 494 Willoughby Ave.
Assembly Dist. 7—Mrs. Matilda Hogan, 222 10 St.
Assembly Dist. 8—Mrs. E. P. Hampson, 237 Carroll St.
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Assembly Dist. 13—Mrs. Bartley Wright, 39 Broome St.
Assembly Dist. 14—Mrs. Agnes Crowell, 978 Lorimer St.
Assembly Dist. 15—Dr. Emma Antonius, 108 Newell St.
Assembly Dist. 16—Mrs. Grace B. Wolterbeek, 426 E. 9 St.
Assembly Dist. 17—Miss Lenda Hanks, Nostrand Ave. and Halsey St.
Assembly Dist. 18—Mrs. Oreola W. Haskell, 17 Lenox Rd.
Assembly Dist. 20—Mrs. Sarah Ruhlin, 1490 Myrtle Ave.
Assembly Dist. 21—Miss Minnie Kawlman, 216 Graham Ave.
Assembly Dist. 22—Miss Clara Salem, 447 Elton St.
Assembly Dist. 23—Mrs. N. H. Seidman, 1731 Pitkin Ave.

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Vice-Ch'm, Miss Eliza Macdonald, 165 Jamaica Ave., Flushing, L. I.
Secretary, Miss Valentina Whiting, 251 Sanford Ave., Flushing, L. I.
Treasurer, Mrs. Adele Miln Linville, 6 Madison Ave., Jamaica, L. I.

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Assembly Dist. 2—Miss Josephine Hewins, Elmhurst, L. I.
Assembly Dist. 3—Mrs. Richard Mott, Far Rockaway, L. I.
Assembly Dist. 4—Mrs. Cora Perry Hamilton, 36 Park Ave., Jamaica, L. I.

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Treasurer, Mrs. C. A. Ingalls, 345 Bennett Ave., W. New Brighton, S. I.

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Brooklyn—Miss Ida Craft, Mrs. Wolterbeek, Miss Fraser.

Queens—Miss Whiting, Mrs. Hamilton.

The chairman will call a meeting of the committee just as soon as the work incident to the convention is over. In the meantime, other volunteers from the Richmond and Bronx Boroughs are cordially invited to co-operate.

There are many ways of showing one's devotion to the "cause" and we think the following example may be suggestlve to others.

Miss Lavinia Dock has paid into the suffrage movement all the returns from her book on "Hygiene and Morality;" some to Miss Anthony's Memorial, some to the *Woman's Journal* sustaining fund, some to England, some to California, quite a sum into the Page law fight and the rest to routine work in New York State.

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THE WORK OF MISS E. FREEMAN

The Woman Suffrage Party received an invitation from the Brooklyn Y. M. C. A. to send a speaker to address a meeting on the subject of Votes for Women. Elizabeth Freeman addressed this meeting on October 19th. There was an attendance of about two hundred men and much interest and many intelligent questions were put to the speakers. A very remarkable fact was that it was the first time that any one had been invited to speak on this subject and so much interest was shown that a further invitation was extended to Miss Freeman to go and speak the following week. This she was unable to do owing to the convention meeting at Carnegie Hall, but promised to go on November 2nd and deal further with this vital subject.

At the close of the meeting a flash-light picture was taken for the Y. M. C. A. paper and many expressions of good wishes and appreciation were given the speaker. This little incident proves undeniably that if we can get this great question before the men and women of this great country it will be easy to convince them of the need we all feel.

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QUESTIONS ON WHICH THE WOMEN WILL NOT VOTE.

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The nine questions follow:

Shall the salaries of Assemblymen be increased from $1,500 to $3,000 a year?

Shall the salaries of State Senators be increased from $1,500 to $3,500 a year?

Shall the salary of the Governor be increased from $10,000 to $20,000 a year?

Shall the Justices of the Appellate Division be given power to affix the time and places for holding special terms and assigning justices?

Shall the number of County Judges in Kings be increased from two to four?

Shall municipal corporations in condemning private property condemn additional property adjacent to that already taken?

Shall land hitherto used for canal purposes be abandoned by act of the Legislature upon certificate from the Canal Board that is no longer a part of the canal system?

When compensation is not paid by the State for property condemned shall the amount be determined by the Supreme Court without a jury as well as by a jury and three commissioners?

Shall the State bond itself for $19,660,000 for the construction of barge canal terminals?

The average voter will experience no difficulty in understanding these propositions, but there is ample ground for assuming that unless their full significance is appreciated, voters will not think enough of their right to express their will one way or the other.

It is the contention of members of the Legislature that they should have more pay, and it is the contention of many non-members that increased remuneration would attract a better class of office-seekers. Whether this argument has any weight or not is for the voters to decide.

It will be recalled that last year the total vote for Governor was nearly a million and a half, while the vote on one amendment to the constitution was but 664,000, showing as it does that less than half of the voters exercised their right of franchise in this direction.

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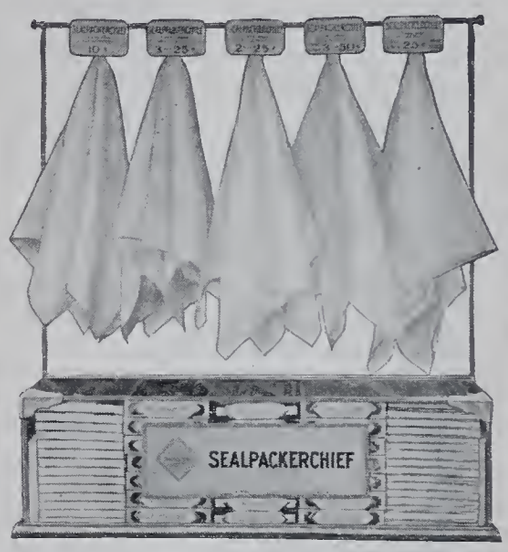

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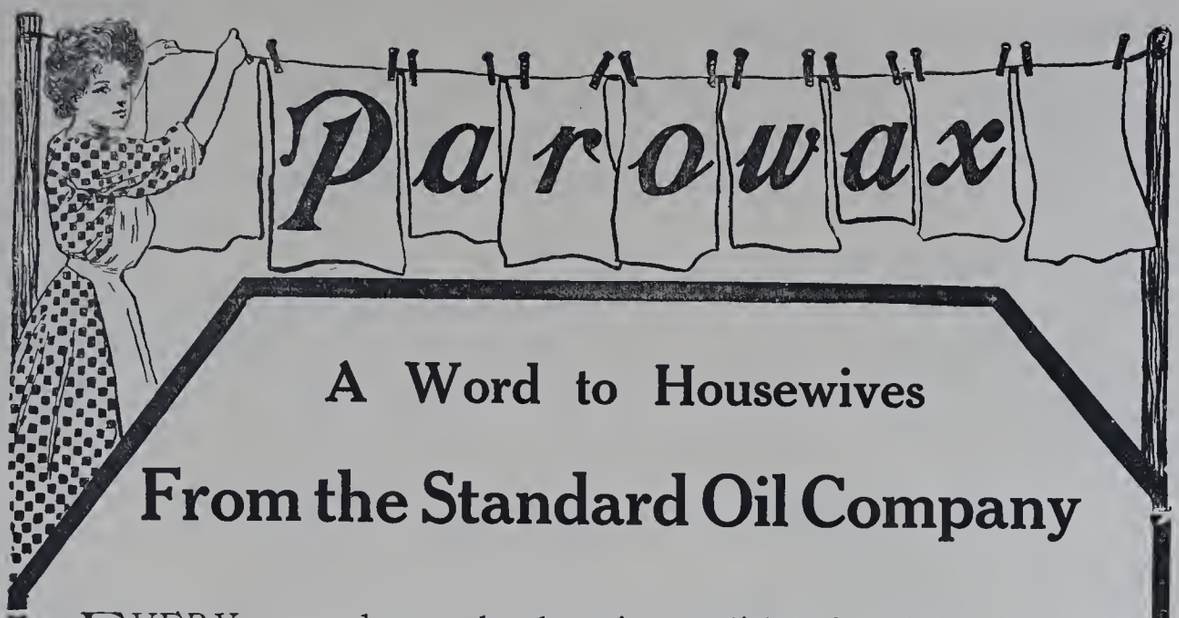

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The Ideal Sight Restorer has proved a godsend to thousands who have lost efficiency, been deprived of success, and suffered generally through failing vision. In more than one case it has even restored the sight of persons who were believed to be blind. By gently massaging the closed eyes, the "Ideal" tones up and strengthens the optic nerves and induces free circulation of the blood, so the red corpuscles can nourish and build up the tissues, thus restoring the eyesight to its normal condition and relieving the day-after-day mind weariness and brain fag that lessens efficiency.

A 10-day FREE trial is offered to anyone. If you are in need of help or advice write to the Ideal Co., Dept. 100—134 West 65th Street, New York City, for *free* booklet. It is interesting and instructive for it tells all about eye trouble and a sure remedy. Write today—*NOW!*

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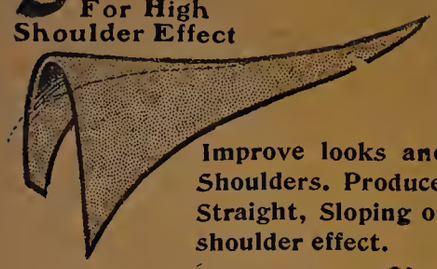

Improve looks and fit of Shoulders. Produce either Straight, Sloping or High shoulder effect.

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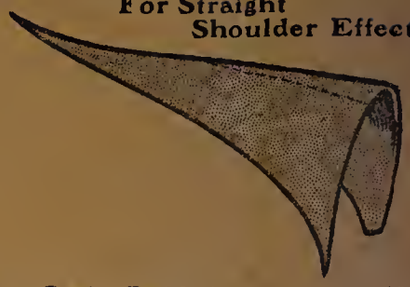

For Heavy Coats, Padded..... No. 60
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Price 15c. a pair

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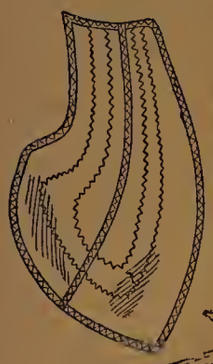

For stiffening of all kinds of coats requiring it.

Made of best haircloth and wadding. Tailor Pad—Stitched and beautifully shaped. No. 618.

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A Useful Pad, surrounding the Arm-Scye, and filling in the generally hollow parts near the arm hole. It has very long overlapping points slightly padded for the shoulder. Made of graduating pieces of felt. Style No. 16. Price, 15 cents.

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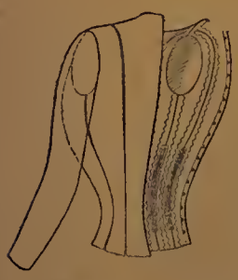

Almost - finished - Lining made on the New-principle. Ready for draping, boned, with **hooks** and **eyes**, basted seams above boned portion. Fits beautifully; cut on up-to-date patterns. Open Front or Back. Sizes, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33 around the waist. Order by the exact size of your **waist**, not of the bust. Made in white, gray and black best percaline.

Price, $1.00.

In Silk Corsica, Price $3.50 to $4.

Grean Tailor-Made Coat-Fronts

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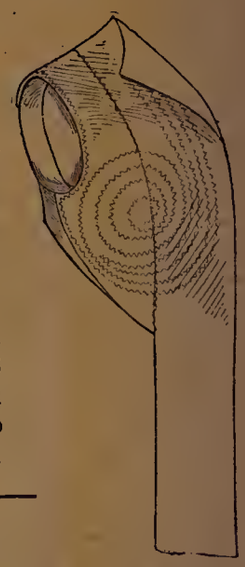

Made of thoroughly shrunk, pure linen Tailor Canvas. White or tan. Reinforced with fine Hair Cloth and Felt. Soft, pliable and firm.

Made in three sizes:

Small.....for 32 to 34
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Guaranteed Rustproof. Invisible. Pliable. Heavily covered with Pure Silk Floss. No ends to scratch. Most Comfortable. Will support high collars where others fail. Sold in Transparent, Sealed Envelopes to insure cleanliness. Made in Black or White.

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10 cents a package containing three.
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